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by Mohit Bhattacharya

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Editor's Notes

A MAJOR problem facing most newly independent countries has been how to provide high level training for senior civil servants, few of whom could possibly be spared for any length of time away from their busy office desks. In East Africa this problem has been tackled through the establishment of the East African Staff College to serve the needs of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. How the college came into being and developed its training system and the difficulties faced during its successful if unorthodox life so far, are told by H. Millar-Craig its director from 1965 to 1969. Without a regularised budget, without a written constitution, without any permanent base, with only minimal staff, over 300 persons drawn from central and local government services, public corporations and the private sector have received much needed training; besides East Africans, these have included personnel from Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zambia. British Technical Assistance, the Ford Foundation, the Administrative Staff College, Henley and the Overseas Development Institute have provided vital assistance in finance for staff or in the provision of visiting lecturers. One lesson to be learnt, perhaps, is that much in this field can be achieved "on a shoe-string" by "ad hockery" methods without any of the basic infrastructure so generally regarded as a prerequisite.

From new training to old, E. G. Rowe records the history of the Oxford Overseas Services Courses – not without some understandable nostalgia, as one of their earliest students, himself and finally as the last supervisor when the time came in 1969 to close this particular form of training. For some 40 years generalist administrators were prepared for the tasks that lay ahead of them in distant lands throughout the world and there can be few anglophone countries overseas that have lacked *alumni* of South Parks Road in the ranks of their senior public officers.

Turning to the utilisation of natural resources, A. F. Porter examines the evolution of land administration in Sarawak and its place within the overall framework of Malaysian economic development planning with which the erstwhile domains of Rajah Brooke were integrated when Independence and Federation coincided. Finally, in the sphere of urban management, as Mohit Bhattacharya points out, municipal government has long been established in India: "age, however, has failed to bring maturity;" its image is one of "financial poverty, inefficient administration and of general stagnation" – harsh criticism that others too have voiced. How far the directorate method of supervision, now generally in fashion, will make the system better, remains to be seen. Doubts are cast here as to whether the machinery will operate successfully unless it is so devised as to allow municipalities to function democratically, guided and helped but not subject to restrictive day-to-day control by an agency of the State.

The East African Staff College

By H. MILLAR-CRAIG

Mr. Millar-Craig was director of the East African Staff College from 1965 to 1969. He served in the Gold Coast and Ghana 1940–65 – for the last three years as Reader in Public Administration at the Ghana IPA.

THE idea of establishing a Staff College in East Africa was first conceived in 1963. Tanganyika, as it was then, and Uganda had recently become independent, and Kenya was expected to follow very soon. This, of course, meant that the pace of Africanisation of senior posts, especially in the public service, was very considerably speeded up. In particular, men were being appointed to the most senior posts who had, through no fault of their own, had very little experience even in medium level positions. It was believed that one of the best ways of helping such people to meet their very heavy responsibilities would be to make available to them training of the staff college type.

The concept of providing such training on a regional basis has much to commend it. One of the essential features of staff college courses is that participants should learn as much from the exchange of experiences with each other as from lecturers or discussion leaders. It is clear that if this experience is spread over three countries rather than over a single one the members of the courses should derive much more benefit from participating in them. Another consideration which may be less weighty in principle but has substantial practical importance is that it would be very difficult at present to assemble enough people of the right calibre at one and the same time if the choice were limited to the nationals of one country. Thirdly, and perhaps most important, the three East African countries are committed to a policy of regional co-operation. The staff college is in a unique position to assist the development of such co-operation by bringing together senior officials and businessmen from the three countries.

The discussions leading to the establishment of the college did, however, reveal various conflicts of interest, which it was not easy to reconcile. The three University Colleges were concerned, for instance, in case funds, which might otherwise have been available to them for research purposes, might be diverted to the Staff College. The Governments, on the other hand, were anxious to ensure that the emphasis in the college would be practical rather than academic, and while they welcomed co-operation with the University, they did not want it to dominate the new venture. But perhaps the most intractable problem, as with so many regional ventures, was to reach agreement on a site for the college within any one of the three countries.

When the first Director of the college, Mr. Guy Hunter, arrived in East Africa in 1964, he decided that the most satisfactory solution would be to hold courses in each of the three countries in turn. His recommendation to

that effect was accepted by the three Governments, and the college has continued to operate on a peripatetic basis up to the present time. It has a small administrative headquarters in the East African Community building in Nairobi, but it has carefully adhered to the principle that its services must be distributed evenly throughout the community; this applies not only to the regular courses, but also to the special seminars which the college has been asked to organise from time to time.

The full-time staff of the college has been kept to a minimum and consists of a Director, Assistant Director, a secretary and an office assistant (who is able to do some typing, to operate the duplicating machine and to drive the Land Rover). The posts of Director and Assistant Director have been filled by the British Government under technical assistance terms and since the inception of the college their salaries have been paid from S.C.A.A.P. funds. For the first two years, the British Government also provided and paid the salary of a research officer, whose primary concern was the preparation of case-study and other teaching material. In 1968 the Ford Foundation met the cost of an industrial consultant, and since May 1968 it has also met the cost of an experienced West African civil servant, who is attached to the college as a special consultant, for the primary purpose of organising the annual inter-African public administration seminars, to which reference is made later in this article.

Two facts stand out clearly in the catalogue enumerated in the previous paragraph. First, unfortunately it has not so far proved possible to associate any East African directly with the management of the college. As the courses are designed for those who are already in senior posts or are earmarked for early promotion to them, it would only be appropriate to appoint to the directing staff persons who had themselves had experience at a high level and who were known to have had a good record in their jobs. At the present time the great majority of East Africans who have climbed to the top are still comparatively young men for whom an operative line job has much more appeal than one concerned with teaching or even with the management of a training institution. Another important factor inhibiting the appointment of East Africans to the staff has been the uncertainty about the future of the college; to this reference is made later on.

The second fact which emerges from the list of staff is that as the numbers have been kept to a minimum, there has always been a very substantial measure of dependence on outside lecturers, or to use a term which is more appropriate in the staff college context, discussion leaders. This has enabled the college to invite practising administrators and managers to participate in its work; and it has also worked closely with the University Colleges and other management training institutions in East Africa, which have all been very generous in making their personnel available whenever asked to do so. In this way the college has been able to maintain a high standard of specialist contribution at minimal cost. In practice, the main difficulty in operating on this basis has been that the specialists – East African as well as expatriate – move so frequently that it has never been possible to build up a permanent cadre of discussion leaders.

The British Government has also made funds available to enable British specialists in various fields to visit the college from time to time. The practice in the beginning was to invite persons whose names were very well-known. More recently the emphasis has been on persons with experience and specialist knowledge which is directly relevant to the content of the course. Institutions which have been especially helpful are the Administrative Staff College, Henley-on-Thames and the Overseas Development Institute.

The college has no formal constitution. A Bill to establish it on a formal basis was drafted for presentation to the former Central Legislative Assembly in 1966. As this Bill contained financial provisions it had to be considered by the Common Services Ministerial Finance Committee, consisting of the Ministers of Finance of the three countries. The Ministers took the view that any action to establish the college on a permanent, formal basis should be deferred until it had been possible to review the working of the national training institutions.

There are in fact at least two such institutions, one for the public and one for the private sector, in each of the three countries, and the reluctance of the Finance Ministers to commit themselves to the formal establishment of yet another institution was very understandable. It was not, however, possible to undertake the required review immediately, as the Uganda Institute of Public Administration was not at that time operating except on a very limited *ad hoc* basis (it has only got under way on a fully operational basis during the past year) and the *modus operandi* of the Tanzania Institute was under review.

Until the review could be undertaken the college continued to function without any formal constitution. This meant that there could be no official Governing Council, but the Secretary-General of the Common Services Organisation (later East African Community) appointed an advisory committee to advise him on policy issues affecting the college. The Secretary-General undertook to serve as chairman of the committee and the other members appointed to it were: Permanent/Principal Secretary in charge of establishment matters in each of the three countries, a representative of the employers association in each of the countries, a representative of each of the three University Colleges, and a senior member of the Common Services (Community) Secretariat responsible for establishment matters.

The college has operated without a budget. Expenditure is met from an advance account provided by the Community (Common Services), and the account is recouped by charging fees to the sponsors of course participants. A fixed fee is charged for participants from the private sector and from public corporations and the balance remaining to the debit of the account is shared out among the Governments and the Community in proportion to the number of their participants.

Care has always been taken to economise on expenditure in order to keep costs to the sponsors down. Much the largest item is hotel accommodation. The college has no premises of its own, and it must provide a standard of accommodation which is appropriate to the level of person whom it seeks to

attract to its courses though there is, of course, no suggestion that participants should stay in the most luxurious hotels. Experience has also shown that accommodation at any distance from the city centre is unpopular, and for this reason, experiments made with the Kenya Institute of Administration and the University Colleges, Dar es Salaam and Makerere, have not been repeated.

On recent courses Tanzania Government participants have been responsible for finding their own accommodation and their Government has given them allowances to meet the cost. This arrangement is popular with the participants concerned because it enables them to save money by living in simple accommodation. It is not, however, very satisfactory from other points of view. The arrangement costs the Tanzania Government more money than it would have to pay under the arrangements described in the preceding paragraph, as the allowances and the tuition costs together come to more than the inclusive all-in fee charged by the Staff College. The Tanzania Government participants also miss the informal contacts which can be made when people are living and eating together and which are a valuable, and in fact integral, part of the Staff College experience. In theory they are now responsible for making their own transport arrangements between their place of residence and the place where the sessions are held but, in practice, it may be necessary for the Staff College to provide transport for them, at some extra expense, in order to ensure that they are able to arrive at work punctually.

Because of the ability and experience of the Assistant Director and the helpful attitude adopted by the financial officers of the Community the somewhat unusual financial arrangements have worked reasonably satisfactorily, and it cannot be said that the absence of a budget has created any major difficulties which it has been impossible to overcome. It might be argued that the lack of a formal establishment has accentuated the difficulty of attracting East Africans to join the staff but, if any suitable candidates had been available it would probably have been possible to create posts for them, perhaps supernumerary ones, in the office of the Secretary-General of the Community. A much more serious obstacle to the localisation of the staff has been the uncertainty about the college's future to which reference has already been made.

Although it was still too early to undertake the review of the working of the national institutions which had been called for by the Ministers of Finance, it became clear in the course of 1968 that a decision about the future of the college could no longer be deferred. The contract of the industrial consultant provided by the Ford Foundation was about to expire, and the contracts of the Director and Assistant Director provided by the British Government were due to expire in the course of 1969. Both the Ford Foundation and the British Government made it clear that they would like to have the future of the college clarified before deciding whether or not to continue providing technical assistance.

A memorandum was therefore circulated to the three Governments asking for their views on whether the college should continue on its present

provisional basis (with or without some move in the direction of establishment on a more permanent footing), be established forthwith on a permanent basis, or be wound up. The consideration of this memorandum occupied some time, as there was some divergence in the response of the three Governments. The Kenya and Uganda Governments favoured the continuation of the college, though without any definite commitment as regards the manner and timing of any move towards establishment on a permanent footing. The Tanzania Government, on the other hand, inclined to the view that, as it was planning to expand its own Institute of Public Administration into an Institute of Development Management, the time might have come for the college to be phased out.

When the matter came to be considered by the college advisory committee in May, 1969, it was evident that all the parties concerned were in favour of the continuation of the college – subject to the reservations of the Tanzania Government. The point was also made at the meeting that the Tanzania Institute of Development Management, for which new buildings are to be erected at Morogoro, could not be expected to be operative for at least two years. In view of this and of the unanimity of opinion among all the other parties represented at the meeting (Kenya and Uganda Governments, East African Community, The University College, and employers' federations in all three countries) the Tanzania Government representatives undertook to seek further instructions.

A further meeting was held in July, 1969, at which it was reported that the Tanzania Government had modified its attitude, and it was possible to reach agreement that the college should continue in operation for at least another two years. Before we can study the implications of this decision it will be desirable to study in rather more detail than we have done so far the aims of the college and the methods of work and type of course content through which those aims have been pursued.

As was stated at the beginning of this article, the original aim was to assist those who found themselves in very senior positions with comparatively little experience behind them to meet their heavy responsibilities. To start with, priority was given to the needs of the public service. This was certainly the right decision to take at the time, because the needs of the public service were very urgent, and there were in any case comparatively few East Africans holding senior posts in the private sector. The bias in favour of the public sector was reflected in the content of the course. It was important that senior public servants should have a clear understanding of the problems in such fields as education and rural development. Emphasis was, for instance, laid on the school-leaver problem and the fact that the great majority of the inhabitants of East Africa would have to continue to find employment in the agricultural sector for many years to come.

The duration of the courses was fixed at five weeks. It was considered that it would not be possible to make an effective impact within any shorter period and that it would not be possible for senior officers to be released from their work for any longer. The duration of the course has been reviewed from time to time, and it has been decided to retain the five-week period;

the original reasons which led to the choice of this particular length of course are still applicable. It is appreciated that courses at most other staff colleges are of longer duration, but the present limitation in East Africa is undoubtedly appropriate in local conditions, especially so long as it is necessary to accommodate participants in hotels.

The original format of the courses was that the initial weeks were spent on a study of the social and economic framework within which policy decisions must be taken in East Africa; there was a move to subjects more directly concerned with management during the middle of the course, and finally a return to policy issues for the last few days. The emphasis and general orientation have, however, gradually changed over the years, and there are a number of reasons for this.

In the first place, the courses in their original form were designed primarily for public servants holding very senior posts, e.g. Permanent or Principal Secretaries of Ministries, Heads of Departments, Managing Directors of State Boards and Corporations. Although the college has always been fortunate in having a number of very senior officers on each course, it soon became apparent that it would not be possible to obtain enough people at that level to fill all the course vacancies that were available. Not only was it difficult to secure the release of such people for five weeks at a time but also, over the years, they soon acquired the experience for which the original syllabus had to some extent been designed as a substitute. Such people also had many opportunities for overseas travel, to attend either conferences or seminars, which enabled them to take a fresh look at their own particular problems within a rather wider context, so that attendance at a course designed for much the same purpose but within the restricted framework of East Africa had only a limited appeal.

Secondly, the courses in their original form, with their heavy bias towards general policy issues, did not hold any great attraction for employers in the private sector, whether privately or state owned. While they accepted that a senior manager would benefit from a better understanding of the social and economic framework within which he had to operate, they considered that at the present stage of development they must place their main emphasis on producing efficient managers. On the other hand, it was clearly desirable to ensure a greater measure of participation by the business sector in order to increase the range of experience available for discussions round the table.

Thirdly, it was found in practice that when a course began with a general discussion of policy issues, the participants found it difficult to switch over to the less heady and more mundane management subjects during the third and fourth weeks.

It was therefore decided towards the end of 1967 that the courses should in future begin with the management subjects and should move on to the more general subjects in the later stages. There can be little doubt that this has led to a more even output over the whole course and to a substantial increase in the number of nominations received from the business community.

One aspect of the college's work which has not changed from the beginning, however, is the emphasis which is laid on the sharing of experience and full participation by all course members. As has been said earlier, this is very much an essential feature of all Staff College work. Indeed, in the colleges in the more developed countries, the work is almost entirely confined to discussion among course members based on their own experience and on reading which they are required to do while at the college.

The method which has been devised to ensure maximum participation by course members is generally known as the syndicate method. Each course is split up into a number of syndicates, with eight to twelve people in each syndicate. The various subjects are discussed at some length in syndicate, each syndicate makes its report to a plenary session of the whole course, and further discussion takes place at the plenary session. At Henley, for instance, where each course lasts for eleven weeks there is time for lengthy discussion in syndicate, for the preparation of a written report and for detailed discussion of the draft in syndicate before it is presented to the plenary session.

Some modification of the syndicate approach has been considered desirable in East Africa. First, the syndicate sessions are augmented to a substantial extent by plenary sessions in which subjects are introduced by specialists in various fields. As the experience of those attending the East African courses is much more limited than that of participants in courses at say, Henley, it is clearly necessary to add to that experience by bringing in a number of visiting speakers. The speakers are asked, however, to regard themselves as discussion leaders rather than as lecturers and to leave plenty of time for discussion, either during the course of their presentation or after it; at the same time the course members are urged to analyse carefully what the speakers say and to consider critically whether it fits in with their own experience and is relevant in the East African context.

It must be admitted that the college has been only partially successful in establishing the discussion atmosphere at these sessions. There is still a tendency for the period after the initial presentation to be in the form of question and answer rather than real discussion, but this is probably almost inevitable at the present stage, and it would be reasonable to expect a gradual improvement in the level of contribution round the table as more experience is acquired; indeed, it would be fair to say that there has already been some improvement in the most recent courses.

The second respect in which there has been a major departure from the Henley approach is that the time allowed for each syndicate is much shorter. This is necessary because the courses are so much shorter. The alternative would be to have only one or two syndicates and to cover particular subjects more thoroughly, but the view has been taken that it is better to cast the net as wide as possible in the time that is available. The normal procedure is to allow one afternoon period of two hours (two afternoons at most) for discussion in syndicate, and another afternoon for the submission of reports to a plenary session, with time allowed for discussion of the reports. This means that there is not sufficient time in which to prepare written reports, and the

reports which are made are oral ones. There is also insufficient time for collaboration between a chairman and a secretary in the preparation of a report, and the chairman acts as his own rapporteur without the assistance of a secretary. There are normally at least two opportunities for each member of a course to act as chairman/rapporteur of his syndicate. He can thus gain experience in the arts of chairmanship and in the preparation and presentation of succinct and lucid reports, both by performing himself and by observing the performance of his colleagues.

In order to maintain interest during the plenary sessions – and these, given the East African climate, often take place on fairly warm afternoons – the subjects are usually divided into sections, and the syndicate reports are taken section by section, with a discussion on each section before the reports are given on the next section. So far as the individual sections are concerned, the first syndicate chairman to speak is asked to give a full report, and the subsequent chairmen are asked merely to indicate additional points or respects in which they disagree with the first or later speakers. Needless to say, each chairman is given at least one opportunity to speak first.

One exception to these short syndicates has been developed over the past two years. A special syndicate has been included in each course to which five sessions in all are devoted. Each syndicate is given a certain amount of reading material; it is then required to prepare a written report in which it draws conclusions based on both the reading material and the experience of its own members; the written reports are then circulated and discussed in plenary session.

The two subjects which have been used for the special syndicate are "Problems of Human Relations" and "Problems of Delegation, Control and Accountability". The quality of the reports has varied considerably, but on the whole it has tended to improve, and there has generally been at least one good report on each course. Careful and thorough briefing of syndicate chairmen and secretaries is, of course, especially important in this exercise, and it can only be successful if syndicates really do their homework and go through all the reading material before they start to discuss their brief in the light of their own experience. This is the one occasion during a course which calls for co-operation between a chairman and a secretary, and it has been interesting to observe that because of some failure in this relationship a lively discussion in syndicate has not always been followed up by an original and clear report.

When the college first started operations, membership of the syndicates was changed at regular intervals throughout the course, with a view to ensuring the greatest possible exchange of experience, but it was found that this had a somewhat disruptive effect, and for some time now course members have remained in the same syndicates throughout the five weeks. They get to know each other well during the time they are together and can exchange views more frankly than was possible when they were being moved round continually; and a change in order to relieve monotony is not really necessary in such a short period as five weeks. When the special syndicate was first introduced, participants were arranged in different groups

for this particular exercise in order to provide some variety, but the general view was that the change-over was unnecessary and only served to confuse. The groupings therefore now remain unaltered throughout the course, including the special syndicate.

In addition to the work in plenary session and syndicate, a number of visits are arranged during each course. These normally take in one or two factories or industrial plants, agricultural and settlement projects and a Government district headquarters. They are, of course, useful in breaking the monotony of sitting in the same rooms day after day, but they are much more than that: they are in fact an integral part of the course. The participants are carefully briefed beforehand regarding the various points in which they should interest themselves during their tour round. After the visits, there is a discussion in syndicate, and the syndicate reports are then considered in plenary session in the usual way.

During the factory visits attention is focussed on the various aspects of management which have been the subject of particular sessions, and it is impressed on the course members that they should concentrate on what is important and relevant for them as managers and administrators and avoid becoming too involved in the technical details of a particular manufacturing process. The agricultural visits have the object, among other things, of reminding those who work in offices in cities that the East African countries are still mainly agricultural ones and that for a long time to come the great majority of the population will be working in the agricultural sector. The participants are also called on to consider some of the management problems in agricultural enterprises and, in particular, to think very broadly in terms of cost-benefit and to ask themselves whether scarce resources are being put to the best possible use. The aim of the visits to district headquarters is to enable the participants to give some thought to the question how public administration could be made more effective at that level.

It should be emphasised that, although there is a briefing before the visits, it is made quite clear that the briefs are intended only as a general guide-line and that people should feel quite free to follow any particular line of enquiry that is of interest to them. It is, of course, equally important that the managers of the undertakings which are being visited should be well briefed about the college's objectives in making the visits. It is an invariable rule that after the tour round there must be an opportunity for the course members to put questions to a senior member of staff. Experience has shown that visits to industrial undertakings are easier to arrange in this respect than visits to agricultural undertakings, where the man on the spot may be only a farm manager whose knowledge of policy matters may be limited. While the college has had many interesting visits to privately owned undertakings and the owners have often gone to a lot of trouble to make the visits a success, it is probably true to say that, on balance, there is some advantage in visiting concerns which are either wholly or partly publicly owned as there is then less difficulty about disclosing quantitative information, especially on the financial side.

One problem about arranging visists of this nature in a part of the world like East Africa is that the distances there are often very great, and the most interesting things to go and see may well be quite far away from the centre where the course is being held. For instance, in September 1969, the college visited the Kilembe copper mine in Western Uganda. This involved a railway journey of more than fifteen hours in each direction. There can be no doubt that the visit was a success, thanks in large measure to the trouble which the mining company took to organise it. Much of the travelling was done overnight, which reduced the amount of working time lost and saved two nights' hotel bills; and on the outward journey the informal contacts in the buffet car were certainly of great value. But inevitably by the time the group returned to Kampala everyone was somewhat surfeited with travel.

It is clear that there is a very definite limit to the number of visits which any group can make in one day. It is far better to make a thorough study (from the management point of view) of one or two plants or estates than to rush round four or five. The question then arises, if there are a number of interesting ventures in a given area, whether one should arrange for the course members to be split up into small groups (either the regular syndicates or special groups) and for each group to visit a different set of projects. Or should one choose say, two projects and arrange for the whole course to go to them?

If everyone goes to the same place, it will be necessary to split them into small groups once they arrive. Whether it is a factory or a farm, one guide cannot make himself heard easily by a group of about two dozen. This is probably not too difficult to organise in one of the larger industrial plants, because it should be possible to find three knowledgeable guides without causing too much inconvenience to the host company. But it may well be considerably more difficult in the case of an agricultural project if the farm manager has no very senior assistants.

On the whole, the college has in the past tended to split up into small groups for visits to different undertakings, although there have always been exceptions. (For instance the Kilembe visit only made sense if the whole group went there). The main disadvantage of splitting up in this way has been at the plenary session after the syndicate discussions on the return to base. In the first place, there has been a very natural desire on the part of course members to be given an opportunity to go and see those interesting places which they missed on the first round. This, of course, given the time limitation, is not possible. But more important, the discussion of the syndicate reports loses something in incisiveness when those listening to the reports have no acquaintance with the undertaking which is being reported on. On balance, therefore, it is probably desirable to move towards the whole course visiting the same places, especially for the industrial visits. But it would certainly be a pity to cut out some of the more interesting agricultural visits just because it is not possible to accommodate the whole group of two dozen. For instance the visit to Sir Michael Blundell's farm at Subukia was an outstanding success, but this was due, in part at least, to the fact that the numbers were kept within reasonable limits.

Visits by course members to district or area headquarters have always been undertaken as a unified group. Visits are paid to the local District or Area Commissioner, representing the Central Government, and to a senior official of the local authority, and obviously every member of the course wants to meet these people. In at least one case the college has been able to visit a district commissioner who has himself attended a course at the college and who is therefore very familiar with its objectives and methods of work.

This discussion of the visits paid by the college has included reference to the number of participants who attended each course. Experience has shown that the ideal number for the kind of operation which is being mounted in East Africa is about twenty-four. This allows for three syndicates of eight each. If there are many more than eight in each syndicate the opportunities for full participation in discussion by each member and for taking a turn as chairman are reduced; and if there are more than three syndicates too much time at the plenary sessions is spent on reporting, thus leaving insufficient time for discussion. On the other hand, when the number falls below twenty-four, the overhead expenditure has to be shared among fewer people, and the cost per participant is increased.

At the present time each course begins with a general introduction by the Director lasting about an hour. This explains in some detail the aims of the college and its methods of work. The point is made as forcibly as possible that the success of each course depends in very large measure on the contribution made by each participant. After this introduction there is a formal opening, which is usually performed by a Minister of the host country's Government or by one of the East African Ministers. The first two morning business sessions are devoted to a study of management's role in the fields of planning and organisation. This provides a framework within which the subsequent discussions of more specialised aspects of management can be set. The first syndicate is a little different from the subsequent ones and is called "Members' Organizations". The members of each syndicate describe to their colleagues the set-up of the organisations for which they work and are asked to point out any shortcomings of which they are aware. They are warned in their joining instructions that they will be required to do this, and are reminded in the Director's introductory remarks that they are attending the course as individuals, not as spokesmen of the organisations for which they work, and that they need not be afraid to speak frankly about any weaknesses they have noted. It has been found in practice that this first syndicate undoubtedly serves the purpose of getting members acquainted with each other and is a good ice-breaker.

The following three weeks then follow a regular pattern. In the mornings there are plenary discussion sessions, led by visiting specialists. In the afternoons there are syndicate sessions or plenary sessions to hear syndicate reports. The syndicates are, of course, linked to the morning sessions and are in a very real sense an extension of them. It would be wrong to say that the mornings are devoted to general issues and the afternoons to particular problems, because that might indicate that the morning discussions are somewhat theoretical in nature. That is not so; the emphasis throughout is on

the practical, and if a course member is making a general point he is expected to be able to substantiate it from his own practical experience. The afternoons do, however, provide an opportunity to consider particular problems in more detail than there is time for in the morning sessions.

The aspects of management to which most attention has been given are those concerned with human relations and finance. There has been a demand for these subjects, and they fit well in a course designed for people from both the public and private sectors. It has been the regular practice for some time to cover such subjects as communication, motivation, selection and appraisal procedures, industrial and public relations. On the financial side, there are sessions on the interpretation of a balance sheet, cost and profit and budgetary control. At first sight, these might appear to be of more relevance to people from the private sector than to those from the public sector, but the college has been fortunate in recent courses in having some very gifted people to take these sessions which have proved very popular. Whatever one's job, one will be called upon from time to time to assess the financial standing of some commercial undertaking with which one's own organization requires to do business; and there will no doubt be general agreement that there is a good deal to be said for making public servants more cost conscious.

It is also the practice to have one case study during each of the first three weeks. These are drawn from cases which actually happened in East Africa. Participants are given the story of the case up to a particular point. They then consider in syndicate what decision they would have taken, and at the end of the session they are told what actually happened. One case is taken from Government experience, one from the private sector and one from a public corporation.

For the last two weeks, the courses move over to subjects which can best be described as being concerned with the general economic and social framework within which management decisions must be made within East Africa. The main focus is on the East African Community. There are sessions on the administration of the Community and on the Common Market sections of the Treaty for East African Co-operation. And, in order to help participants to get the problems of the Common Market into perspective, there are also sessions on the role of international trade and on experience with regional economic co-operation in other parts of the developing world. It has been the normal practice to invite the Governor of the Central Bank of the host country to talk about monetary problems within the general context of the Common Market; and, whenever possible, the Director-General of the East African Development Bank to talk about the role of his bank.

Other subjects which have been included in this latter part of the course have been technical assistance, the financing of development and manpower problems. Africanisation is a subject of great interest to all college participants, and it has been found desirable to concentrate discussion of it in one particular session; otherwise many other sessions are apt to turn themselves into discussions of Africanisation rather than of the subject in the programme.

It was the custom for a considerable time to conclude courses with a syndicate discussion on the main problems facing East Africa. It was, however, difficult to avoid a certain sameness in the three reports, which placed the last of the three reporting chairmen at a considerable disadvantage. The reports also tended to be too generalised to be of any real value, with the result that the courses ended up on a rather flat note. In order to provide some variety, the three syndicates were then given different sets of problems to analyse, and this helped to maintain interest to some extent, but the reports were still in very general terms, and recently it has been decided to drop this kind of final syndicate altogether. The last subject to be discussed is now the Common Market, which is a subject of importance for everyone in East Africa, and if there is any subject which can maintain interest up to the end of the course, that should be it.

One disadvantage of having a peripatetic college is that it is not possible to take a large library all round East Africa. It must be confessed, however, that the participants do not evince any great enthusiasm for reading. Papers for syndicate discussions are always distributed in advance, and so are some of the papers for the morning sessions, but they are not always read. At one time it was the practice to hold after-dinner sessions three or four times a week. The number was reduced to one a week and finally the evening sessions were given up altogether, in order to give participants more opportunity for keeping up with their reading, but it cannot honestly be claimed that there has been any great improvement in the amount of homework done, either for the regular sessions or for the special syndicate.

Altogether some three hundred people have attended the college's regular courses, and the appendix to this paper indicates the countries from which the participants have come and also the distribution as between Governments, public corporations and private enterprise. There has been a very definite increase on recent courses in the number of participants from the business sector.

It will be seen that there have been a number of participants from neighbouring countries. Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia have now been sending people quite regularly for some time, and they have all made valuable contributions to the work of the college; Swaziland recently had the distinction of sending the first woman participant. Ethiopia and Malawi have both said that they would like to send more people, and they would certainly be welcome to do so.

There are normally three regular courses a year and, if at first sight this does not seem a very heavy programme of work for the staff, it must be borne in mind that it is a very small staff, and that it has always been ready to undertake consultancy assignments between courses, both inside and outside East Africa. It would not have been possible to increase the number of courses without lowering the standards required of participants. It has never been the practice to insist on any special level of academic attainment, but it is made clear to sponsoring organisations that their nominees must be able to play a full part in the work of the college. They must have had a reasonable amount of experience in positions of responsibility, and they must

be able to express themselves reasonably clearly. The college's aim is to provide training at a level appropriate to top managers and administrators, and if participants are not already in top jobs, the assumption is that their organisation would not be spending money on sending them to the college unless they were earmarked for further promotion.

The college is fortunate in having had throughout almost all its existence a very competent and experienced Assistant Director to take charge of administration. The most intractable administrative problem with which he has been faced has been the difficulty of obtaining precise information about the number of participants in advance of each course. Most business concerns book places well in advance and give reasonably long notice if later they are compelled to withdraw a nomination. Governments, however, experience difficulty in adhering to the deadline prescribed for making nominations, and there are always some Government nominees who fail to turn up having given little or no notice at all that they will not be coming. This, of course, creates considerable administrative difficulties. It is not possible, for instance, to finalise the syndicate groupings (which have to be carefully arranged to provide a balance between different countries and different occupations) until it is known for certain who will be attending. It is also difficult to make hotel reservations when it is not known exactly how many people will be coming.

At the end of each course the participants are invited to give frank comments on it in writing. The questionnaire which is circulated to them asks them to evaluate the various parts of the course and to say whether the allocation of time is correct or needs adjustment. They are asked to indicate whether there are subjects which they would like added to, or deleted from the curriculum; and whether they found any discussion leaders unsatisfactory.

Follow-up after the participants have returned to their countries is difficult. Because of the large distances involved it would not be practicable to gather together all the members of a particular course for a short refresher and appraisal seminar two or three years later, as is done in staff colleges elsewhere. As the college is peripatetic, contact can be made with former participants who work in the national capitals when a course is being held in their country, but courses are busy times for the staff and, in any case, it is not easy to gain very much from a conversation with an individual, as people always tend to be polite on such occasions.

Contact is also maintained with the sponsoring organisations, and they are perhaps able to indicate better than the participants themselves whether attendance at the college has had a noticeable effect on an individual's performance; although again when performance has improved, this may well be due to a variety of factors, of which attendance at the Staff College is only one.

The college has also, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, assumed responsibility since May 1968 for organising the annual inter-African public administration seminars financed by the Ford Foundation. These are semi-

nars of one week's duration for top level civil servants from the whole of English-speaking Africa and are held in a different country each year. A Ford Foundation senior consultant, who is a West African with many years' experience as a very senior civil servant, is attached to the college for the purpose of organising these seminars, and he also has time to make some very valuable contributions to the regular courses.

The college has also given administrative assistance in connection with seminars organised in East Africa by various United Nations organisations, and has itself organised, with financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, a number of seminars for East African civil servants. It is very ready to organise more such seminars, but is conscious of the need not to duplicate work already being done by the University. It also seems unnecessary for the college to intervene when satisfactory contacts already exist between officials of the three countries in various specialised fields.

The college has also made it clear that it would be glad to undertake research at the instance of the Community or any of the three Governments, but again it is important to avoid duplication of work, and there is already a great deal of research work being undertaken by universities from both inside and outside East Africa. The college's staff position has, in any case, not been such as would have permitted a great deal of time to be devoted to research.

So much for the past and present. What of the future? It seems clear that in East Africa as elsewhere there will be a continuing, indeed a growing demand for training at the staff college level. There is general agreement that the regional nature of the courses held over the past five years has been one of their most valuable features. Given the great importance of developing confidence and understanding among senior administrators and managers working in the three countries of the East African Community, there is a very strong case for retaining the regional nature of the courses in order to foster the community spirit.

In theory it would be possible for the national institutions to take it in turn to organise regional courses, but in practice this may present difficulties. For some time to come all the national institutions will have very heavy programmes of work at the lower levels and it may not be easy for them to find the time or the manpower to organise regional courses in addition to their other work. It is also fair to say that it is not always easy for someone who is normally engaged in training at a lower level to adjust himself to the role of a staff college discussion leader.

On the other hand, given the present level of demand for staff college training, it might be difficult to justify the establishment, in the immediate future, of a separate institution with its own building. While it might be possible to obtain financial assistance from abroad for the construction of buildings the recurrent costs would have to be met from East African resources, and in the years immediately ahead there are probably other projects with greater claims on those resources. However, in the longer term the case for a separate institution with its own buildings will certainly become stronger,

especially as the business sector develops. Indeed, one might reasonably expect that sector to be making substantial contributions within the foreseeable future, towards the running costs of the college.

In the meantime it will be important to maintain the identity of the college, and perhaps the first step towards establishing it in its own buildings might be to provide for a closer association with an existing institution. It could start by sharing the facilities of that institution – living and eating accommodation, library and administrative arrangements – but would retain its separate identity and its own policy-making body. As both the college and the institution with which it was in association expanded, consideration could be given to the provision of separate facilities for the college, perhaps phased over a period, but taking care to ensure that there was no unnecessary duplication.

The question would then arise with which other institution the college should be associated. While a good case could be made for basing it in Nairobi, Tanzania and Uganda would no doubt argue, and with some justification, that there are already enough Community institutions based on Nairobi. If the college's home were to be in Uganda, then it should obviously be in Kampala. In Tanzania, it might be better to favour Arusha rather than Dar es Salaam, as the former is the headquarters of the Community. It has already been decided to establish an Institute of Administration for the East African Railways and Harbours Corporations at Arusha, which it is hoped to develop into an Institute for all Community services. There is much to be said for developing the staff college in association with this Institute.

It will probably be necessary to retain the peripatetic nature of the college for some time to come, but it may be possible to switch gradually over the years to an arrangement under which more courses are held at its own base, once agreement has been reached on where the permanent base should be.

It is generally agreed that the college has made a valuable contribution in the five years of its existence, and there is no reason why it should not continue to do so provided that its development is carefully planned to keep pace with changing requirements.

APPENDIX

	Ministries and Departments	Local Governments	Boards and Corporations	Co-operatives	Commerce and Industry	Banks	Total
Kenya	37	4	8	—	17	4	70
Tanzania	48	17	7	3	8	6	89
Uganda	*52	1	10	2	13	1	79
Common Services	14	—	†34	—	—	—	48
Ethiopia	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Lesotho	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
Swaziland	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
Zambia	6	—	—	—	—	—	6
Malawi	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
	167	22	59	5	38	11	302

* Including 5 from the former Kingdom Governments

† Including E.A.P. & T., E.A.R. & H., E.A. Cargo Handling Service.

State Agency for Municipal Supervision in India

By MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

Mr. Bhattacharya is a lecturer in municipal administration at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

During the British regime the policy on local self-government used to constitute an indispensable part of a general policy on India's constitutional development. The intention of reforms was to offer the educated élite an opportunity to take part in the management of local administration and this was taken to be a necessary precondition to expanding the future area of Indian participation in government and administration. Historically, Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 is regarded as the first clear and coherent policy statement on the introduction of local self-government in India. In spite of the noble philosophy of Lord Ripon, local government could not strike root in those days, as the circumstances were still not conducive to the growth of self-governing institutions. District administration headed by the district officer was a formidable state agency operating in full force in the districts; its authoritarian character proved a major impediment to the blossoming of local government. Later as Indian political opinion gradually became restive and started demanding far-reaching constitutional changes, important concessions were made in the form of radical reforms in the sphere of local government. In fact the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1918 selected local government as the sphere in which "steps would be taken first and furthest in the direction of progressive realisation of responsible government in India." Although central and provincial governments were reformed to some extent, radicalism in constitutional reform exhibited itself at local level where municipalities came under the control of a majority of elected councillors – elected by a comparatively wide franchise. Resurrecting the philosophy of Lord Ripon, the Montague-Chelmsford report emphasized the importance of educating local citizens through participation in local bodies and recommended the largest possible degree of independence from outside control. One of the principal tenets of reform was strictly to subscribe the radius of official control and to treat local government as "a vital link in the chain of organisms that make up the Government of the country."

As a sequel to the Montague–Chelmsford Reforms, governmental powers at the provincial level were divided into two categories: reserved and transferred. "Local self-government" was one of the transferred subjects entrusted to the supervision and control of Indian ministers answerable to the provincial legislatures. This resulted in the emergence of local government departments at the provincial level for the control and supervision of municipal authorities and rural local bodies. At the district level the reforms led to an almost complete severance of connection between the municipalities

and the district officer. Previously the district officer was the official chairman of the district or local board and frequently of one or more municipalities. In fact, the district officer was an integral part of municipal administration, but the reforms introduced a new relationship between the local government department and the municipalities without the interposition of the district officer. The latter remained an agent of the state at the field level bereft of his powers of direct interference in municipal administration.

The organisation of state machinery for supervision and control of municipal administration even to-day remains almost the same as it evolved out of the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms of 1918. The next momentous event in the history of constitutional reforms was the federal scheme envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935. "Local self government" in the federal scheme was placed on the provincial list. After Independence, when India framed her new constitution, the location of "Local Self Government" was not disturbed and it was retained as a "State List" subject.

The only major change in the sphere of local government in post-Independence India has been the inauguration of the new system of rural self-government commonly known as *Panchayati Raj*. To give special attention to the development of the new institutions, almost all the state governments constituted a separate department for the control, promotion and guidance of *Panchayati Raj* institutions. This, however, marked the beginning of a duality in state level organisation with regard to supervision of local government. Henceforward, two independent departments started operating at the state level, one dealing with municipal affairs and the other with the *Panchayati Raj* institutions.

Organisation of State Machinery

In this paper we are concerned with the organisation of state machinery for the control and supervision of municipal authorities. A general practice in India in state administration is to have a secretariat department charged with specific functions. The secretariat, which is essentially a policy-framing organ, is presided over by a minister who is answerable to the legislature. Below the minister, the secretariat organisation is headed by a permanent secretary with deputy and assistant secretaries working under him. With the bifurcation of state level administration on local government after the emergence of *Panchayati Raj*, the general pattern is that in almost all the states a secretariat department deals with municipal government and administration. There are, however, variations in the organisation of these secretariat departments. For instance, some states such as Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal each have a department of local self-government dealing exclusively with municipal affairs. Again, states like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra each have a multi-functional department at the state level with municipal government as one of its many charges. At the secretariat level the multi-functional department in Andhra Pradesh is called the Health, Housing and Municipal Administration department. Similarly, Maharashtra has constituted a combined department known as the department of Urban Development, Public Health and Housing. The corresponding department

in Gujarat is the Panchayat and Health department which combines both rural and municipal government, although the latter does not appear in the name of the department. No doubt there are obvious advantages in gathering a number of allied functions under a particular department. Especially, in the Indian situation where public health functions loom large in local administration, there is advantage in combining municipal administration and public health in one secretariat department. This is exactly what States like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra have tried to do.

In recent times there has been a growing concern about streamlining the state machinery for control, supervision and guidance of municipal bodies. Many of the problems faced by municipalities are of such a nature as to need prompt attention. Municipal government in India, in spite of its age, has never been known for efficiency. The weaknesses of municipal institutions are due to various causes, which, however, would entail a separate study altogether. The specific statutory provisions coupled with the debilitating condition of the municipal bodies have encouraged increasing control and intervention by the state government in the affairs of the municipalities. In such circumstances the state requires suitable machinery capable of swift action so that the timely rescue of municipalities in need can be effected. The secretariat department has been looked at as a policy-framing organ unable to be in constant touch with the needs of the municipalities. While the district officer has virtually been dissociated from municipal government and administration since the days of Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, it has been felt that a specially constituted state executive organ would be of considerable help both to the secretariat organisation at the state level and to the municipal authorities at the urban roots level. Also, the district officer has his hands full with numerous functions relating to revenue administration, law and order and development administration and could scarcely be reburdened with day-to-day urban responsibilities. In some states it has been the practice to use the local government inspector for conducting occasional inspections of municipal affairs. For instance, states like Bihar, Madras and West Bengal have appointed such inspectors who go round the districts to look into the working of municipalities. But the local government inspector is a jack-of-all-trades and master of none. Inspection is not made on functional lines and its spirit has often been inquisitorial rather than advisory and of practical assistance. Moreover in the absence of any clear idea about its role and purpose, inspection is a perfunctory exercise. It bears fruit in the form of a general report which all too often is to be found kept in cold storage by the secretariat department.

Directorates of Municipal Administration

General dissatisfaction with the existing mechanism for state supervision and guidance of municipalities, need for relieving the congestion of work at the secretariat level and the utility of a well-equipped state department which would act as a bridge between the municipalities and the state-level administration, prompted many of the state governments in India to create in recent times a special agency known as the Directorate of Municipal Administration. Incidentally, it is common practice in Indian state administration to create

such a directorate just "below" the secretariat organisation in order to undertake operative responsibilities with regard to public works, public health, education and so on. So far, six state governments have set up directorates of municipal administration to aid and assist the secretariat departments and to keep in constant touch with the municipalities and to meet their urgent needs. These are: Rajasthan, in 1951, where the Inspectorate of district boards and municipalities was converted into a directorate of local bodies; Andhra Pradesh came next in 1961, then Kerala a year later, followed by Gujarat and Maharashtra[1] in 1965 and finally Punjab in 1966. A director has been appointed in Uttar Pradesh but his organisation is still to be finalised. Other states are expected to follow this general directorate-oriented trend.

The organisation of the directorate of municipal administration differs from state to state. Of the six that have set up fully-fledged directorates, only two, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, have created regional branches. In Andhra Pradesh, apart from the director, there are, subordinate to him, two regional directors, one posted to each of the regions into which the entire state has been divided. There are ten districts in each region and an attempt has been made to distribute the workload evenly with regard to municipal supervision and control between the two regional directors. Although Punjab is a much smaller state than Andhra Pradesh, it has established three regional offices of the directorate each headed by a regional deputy director. Obviously, the purpose of having these regional branches is to maintain independent machinery for the inspection, supervision and guidance of the municipal bodies. But the remaining four states have not created similar field organisations in their regions. Kerala is the smallest of the six states with only twenty eight municipalities to look after. Hence, it is not difficult for the Kerala director along with his headquarters staff to keep in touch with all the municipalities, and to supervise and guide them. Two of the states, Gujarat and Maharashtra, have tried to make use of the machinery of district administration and thus avoid creating separate branch offices. In the matter of making use of the district machinery for the purposes of municipal supervision and control, the case of the Rajasthan directorate is of special importance. Like its counterparts in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, the Rajasthan directorate originally had its own independent field staff consisting of five regional inspectors. In 1962 the Rajasthan Government decided, mainly on the ground of economy, to abolish the regional branches and to delegate powers of field supervision of municipalities to the district and subdivisional officers. Thus, it appears that the services of the district officer, who was debarred under normal circumstances from exercising control and supervision over municipalities ever since the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, have once again been requisitioned. Even in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab where regional branches of the directorates have been established, the district officer has been endowed with a number of statutory powers relating to control and supervision of the municipalities. It is clear therefore that the state administration is still in a dilemma as to whom to choose for field-level

[1] Section 74 of the Maharashtra Municipalities Act (1965) contains specific provision for the appointment of a director of municipal administration – as does S.63 of the Andhra Pradesh Act of the same year.

operations – a regional office or the age-old district administration. At its headquarters, the directorate in each state is headed by a Director who is assisted by a deputy or assistant. Complete functional separation between the secretariat and the directorate has been sought only in two states, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In the remaining four states, the Director has been given concurrent secretariat responsibilities. On the one hand, a full-time director attending to field-level problems of the municipalities and keeping the state government abreast of municipal problems, has often been acclaimed as an ideal model. A director with concurrent secretariat responsibilities, it has been claimed, serves neither the municipalities nor the government. On the other hand, it has been argued that in practice the separation between the directorate and the secretariat is an illusion, and there are distinct advantages in making the head of the directorate a member of the secretariat team also. Of the six States that have fully-fledged directorates of municipal administration, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala and Maharashtra have multi-functional secretariat departments, and Punjab and Rajasthan have uni-functional local self-government departments. It is naturally to be expected that the pull of the secretariat would be greater in a state having a uni-functional local self-government department and in fact both Punjab and Rajasthan have given their heads of directorates concurrent secretariat responsibilities. In the four other states with multi-functional Secretariat departments the directorate can be expected to function in comparative ease and isolation, for the secretariat itself will be too busy to handle the additional heavy workload involved. In any case, the differences in organisation are worth keeping watch on, and at a later date it will be interesting to study the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the differing organisational patterns.

Powers of Directorates

In all the states the directorates derive their powers by way of delegation. The municipal Acts in India abound in regulatory provisions which serve to strengthen the hands of the state governments in relation to municipal administration. The newly created directorates have benefited from this statutory position, as many of the important controlling powers of the state have been delegated to them. The various powers of the directorates can be classified in terms of their relationship with specific aspects of municipal administration such as the organisation of the municipality and its financial and general administration. The last heading includes the emergency and default powers. To cite a few instances of the powers that have been conferred, in Kerala the director has been appointed as the Election Authority for municipal election purposes: the Punjab director has been delegated the state power to approve the election of municipal Presidents, and the Rajasthan director has been given the extraordinary power (limited to certain special circumstances) to remove municipal councillors from office. Because a separate personnel system exists in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab, the directorates in these states do not enjoy substantial powers over municipal personnel administration. Still, the Maharashtra director has been empowered to accord sanction for the creation of posts and to determine qualifications, pay and allowances for certain categories of municipal staff. The Punjab

director has been given the power of according approval to the appointment and removal of the municipal secretary, and to compel a municipality to punish any of its employees on the ground of negligence in the discharge of his duties. The director can even compel a municipality to dismiss an employee. The states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Rajasthan have evolved state-wide unified municipal services, which have naturally increased the powers of their directorates. Directorates in these three States function as the controlling authorities for different categories of municipal personnel. They have been empowered to appoint, transfer and take disciplinary action against particular classes of municipal employees. The directorates also have considerable powers over the financial administration of municipalities. In this respect those of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala are the most powerful. The director in Kerala has the power to direct municipal councillors to modify municipal budget estimates, and in Andhra Pradesh he has important sanctioning powers over municipal expenditure. Similar sanctioning powers are also enjoyed by the Kerala director. The Punjab director has power to approve budget estimates and virement from one budget head to another. The directorates of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat do not enjoy similar controlling powers with regard to municipal finances. As regards general supervision over municipal administration, the directors in all the states have been given powers to inspect and supervise municipal property and works, records and proceedings. Emergency and default powers are not enjoyed by all the six directorates. In Gujarat and Kerala these powers vest in the state governments themselves, but the directors in Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan have been empowered to suspend municipal resolutions, orders and regulations in certain cases. The Maharashtra director has the power to enforce the performance of duties in case of default by a municipality. In other states, this default power has been reserved for exercise by the state governments alone.

Evaluation

It appears that the directorates which are emerging as a new department for exercising control and supervision over the municipalities, have been delegated substantial regulatory powers over municipal administration. The original idea behind their establishment was that they would function as friends, philosophers and guides to the municipal bodies. But the nature and extent of powers delegated to them by the state governments make them more like controlling authorities sitting in judgment on the day-to-day administration of the municipalities. There is also some confusion about the distinction between "Government" and "Directorate". The latter is just an agency of government and cannot be expected to exercise important constitutional, regulatory and disciplinary powers, which should always remain in the hands of government itself. Nonetheless because their role has not been clearly defined, in some states certain important regulatory powers have been delegated to the directorates, in others such powers have been retained in the hands of the state governments.

It is clear that the directorates of municipal administration are emerging as a new device for inspecting, supervising and guiding the activities of the

municipalities in India. To add strength to the current trend, a recent committee has also recommended the establishment of state directorates of other urban local bodies[2]. Municipal government in India is an old institution which was introduced during the early stages of British rule. Age, however, has failed to bring maturity, and the image of Indian municipal government has been one of financial poverty, inefficient administration and of general stagnation. Municipal inertia is due to a variety of causes, one of which, and a very important one at that, is the failure of the state governments to provide timely guidance and advice, and necessary financial assistance and technical help, and failure, also, to formulate well-thought-out strategies for the development of municipal institutions. The accent of state supervision over the municipalities has been on the negative, restrictive and disciplinary side. The municipality has always been suspected of being in the wrong and state-municipal relationships have grown up under this all-pervading atmosphere of distrust and suspicion. In such circumstances, if a state agency can really dispel this unhealthy air of suspicion and serve the cause of positive municipal growth and development, then such an agency will immediately command the respect of municipalities. But the controlling and restrictive powers, which the newly created directorates have been delegated, would stand in the way of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill. Again, the character of municipal legislation in India remaining as it is, there is very little to choose between the district officer and the director of municipal administration. Both are civil servants appointed by the state government, and as such any attempt to confer on them powers restrictive of representative local government will be resented by the municipal bodies. Inspection, advice, guidance and even informal pressures by civil servants may look innocuous; but the delegation of important regulatory powers to a civil servant like the director is of questionable merit in a democracy. In a parliamentary system of government the minister in charge of local government is directly responsible to the legislature for the exercise of his powers of control and supervision over the municipalities. When the minister is delegating governmental powers of supervision and control to an appointed state official, the wisdom, even perhaps the legality, of such sub-delegation remains in doubt. Also, it is bound to create political complications which the civil servant is not the best person to face. The nature of local government in India was modelled on the British system and not the continental one. New state machinery for municipal supervision has got to be devised in such a way that it cannot violate the true spirit of local government. At the same time, it has to be in conformity with the principle of ministerial accountability to the legislature.

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[2] *Report of the Rural–Urban Relationship Committee*, Volume 1, Government of India, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, 1966, p. 120.

Land Development in Sarawak—The Problems of Administration

By A. F. PORTER

Mr. Porter is a former Senior Superintendent in the Land & Survey Department, Sarawak, and is now in the Estate and Property Department of Newcastle Corporation.

On 16th September, 1963, the Crown Colony of Sarawak joined the States of the Federation of Malaya, the State of Singapore, and the Crown Colony of North Borneo in a new federation of independent States. Just eight days short of the 122nd anniversary of Sarawak's emergence as an independent State – albeit a State under the dominion of a British autocrat – in the international family of nations, incorporation in a federation, with whose other members there had been neither previous constitutional nor direct administrative relationship, took place and the territory achieved independence through Malaysia; the formidable task of adjustment to the needs of a wider constitutional, political, and economic entity had begun.

The political evolution of Sarawak, and, indeed, its modern history, is singularly remarkable – possibly unique. James Brooke, the First Rajah of Sarawak, accepted the cession of the territory on 24th September, 1841, and the administrative organisation introduced by Rajah James and his successors was inherited by the British Colonial Government in 1946; that organisation passed, virtually unaltered, to the federation in 1963, and the machinery of Government continues to be exercised through two councils – the Supreme Council and Council Negri – which were established by Rajah James. The administration of land has followed a similar evolutionary course and the present legislative provisions and procedural machinery also have their origins in, and are traceable from, the Brooke Raj.

Land, under the Sarawak Constitution,[1] remained a state responsibility on Sarawak's entry into Malaysia. Existing law, by virtue of Article 46(i) of the state constitution, continued to have effect and Article 47(ii) provided that:—

> "Any land in the State which immediately before the commencement of this Constitution was vested in Her Majesty shall on the commencement of this Constitution vest in the State."

In fact, all land in Sarawak – with a very few unimportant freehold exceptions – historically has vested in the state or, in the colonial period, in the Crown. The rights of the Crown transferred to the state consequentially upon the entry of Sarawak into Malaysia were specifically described in the Land Code[2]

[1] S.I. 1493 of 1963; (*Sarawak Government Gazette Notification No.* 163, *dated 6th September*, 1963).

[2] Ordinance No. 8 of 1957; (*Sarawak Government Gazette Notification No.* O.8, *dated 16th September*, 1957). The Land Code received minor consequential amendments in 1964.

and continue in effect under the provisions of that Ordinance. Section 12 of the Land Code proclaims that:—

> "The entire property in and control of State land and of all rivers, streams, canals, creeks and watercourses and the bed thereof is and shall be vested solely in the State."

and, together with Article 47(ii) of the State Constitution, ensures state control of land within the federation.[3] Alienated land reverts to the state on the expiration of the lease.

Land development in Sarawak, in common with perhaps most underdeveloped territories, and certainly in common with the rest of Malaysia, is the most important factor in the programme of economic development, but land development, even with the advantage of state ownership, is seldom free from multiple problems. In Sarawak the problems inherent in every programme of land development – social, economic and scientific problems – are present, and are aggravated by the complexity of Sarawak's racial composition (and the legislation used to afford protection to some groups), by the political necessity of fitting the economic aspirations of an isolated territory into a development plan designed originally to meet the needs of another society, by the need to fit an existing administrative system into a development organisation evolved elsewhere on the framework of a completely different administrative system,[4] and, not least, by the presence of a system of customary law through which a vast acreage of land is held by communities whose customary rights over that land are recognised by the state and protected by law.

The effective management of an economic development programme is a notoriously difficult task, and one so prone to failure, or at least to disruption and to the arrival of totally unforeseen factors, that it is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the philosophy of development is a philosophy of pessimism; however, a great deal may be done to protect the progress of a development programme from the consequences of inadequate planning and, within the framework of a specific development field, it may be possible to establish certain conditions which, when observed with an intelligent appreciation of the dangers and risks inherent in the programme, will contribute much to its successful completion. The administration of a land development programme – and of individual schemes within a programme – is by no means the least important factor involved and it is the aim of this article to deal with some problems inherent in the administration of land development in Sarawak, both in general terms and in the context of the First Malaysia Plan[5] as it affects Sarawak.

Land administration is not a self-generating, self-justifying, activity of government and its component specialisation – management, physical

[3] Similar constitutional allocations of functions apply to each of the member States of the federation.

[4] The administrative organisation of the States of Malaya, originating in that of the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements, bears only a superficial resemblance to the organisation in Sarawak.

[5] *The First Malaysia Plan* 1966–70; *Kuala Lumpur*, 1965.

planning, survey, mapmaking, development economics – offer even less possibility of self-justification. Land administration is undertaken with specific objectives in view and it is unfortunate that these objectives are often unstated and, moreover, often misunderstood. In an underdeveloped territory the principal concern of government is that territory's economic development; political and social circumstances will determine the official reasons for particular development proposals and these may be simply economic reasons, but political and social pressures may also contribute to the determination of individual development policies and to the structure of the development organisation. In such an underdeveloped territory the whole effort of land administration is directed towards the achievement of an economic development of that territory's land resources or, in a wider context, its entire natural resources, and the maintenance of land administration machinery to serve also as an effective tool of social order – a reality where optimum development has been reached – is of little practical significance.

The first serious attempts to plan logically and comprehensively for the future development of Sarawak, particularly in agriculture, and for the economic exploitation of natural resources, were not made until the late 1940's and early 1950's. Some modest plans of a fairly broad concept were prepared for the periods 1955–60 and 1959–63 and money was obtained to finance them, but the first attempt to plan development on a large scale did not take place until Sarawak had joined Malaysia, although much preliminary work had gone into the preparation of the first comprehensive plan whilst Sarawak was still a dependency. This plan, however, the Sarawak Development Plan 1964–68, was intended from its inception for ultimate absorption into the First Malaysia Plan as and when this was evolved.

The preparation and implementation of a development plan for a state – and particularly for a state within a federation – inevitably involves many organisations and individuals and is concerned not only with the limited, though vital, importance of land, land use planning and regional planning, but also with industry, labour, education, health, the economy of the state and – in a federation – the national economy, and in general the entire sphere of public welfare. The Sarawak Development Plan 1964–68 was such a plan and obviously much of its content and many of the problems of implementation are outside the scope of this article. However, it would not be possible to describe the functional problems of land development realistically without a brief examination of the structure of the plan and its objectives, for much of the contemporary development organisation had its origins in the plan, and many of the initial administrative problems were resolved in the context of the plan.

Council Negri – the Sarawak Legislature – approved the plan on 12th November, 1963, and it was implemented immediately. The problems of the Sarawak economy were examined in the plan[6]; geography, the people and the economy were considered, as well as production targets in agriculture,

[6] Paragraphs 77–128.

mining, and other industries. The extent of government participation was described in considerable detail and in dealing with that participation the plan[7] defined the functions of state and divisional development committees and the purpose of "development areas". The divisional development committees, whose role had not been excessively demanding under the Colonial Government, were reconstructed and charged with considerable new responsibilities.

In the administration of a development programme, no less than in the preparation of a development plan, it is, perhaps, axiomatic that the primary problem of efficient co-ordination of interests will not be resolved without effective co-operation between planners and "planned". To achieve an adequate level of co-operation in the implementation of the Sarawak Development Plan, and particularly in the implementation of land development schemes, the Sarawak State Government established, in accordance with the plan, a series of development committees representative of every level of government and, so far as practicable, representative of all interests, particularly those of the common people. This series of committees, which emphasises the essential need for direct participation of both officials and unofficials in the committee structure, operates at the major levels of administrative responsibility, headed by the State Development Planning Committee. The composition of the state committee, which is able to liaise direct with the federal National Development Planning Committee in Kuala Lumpur, must obviously reflect predominant political interests and is therefore under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister; its membership is drawn from state government ministers and heads of government departments, representing, in effect, the highest attainable level of professional competence and the widest possible popular representation. Equally obvious, however, is the need for minority interests to be represented, whether political, cultural, or racial, but the recognition of this need has never been so apparent at state level as, at any rate for the first three years or so, at the divisional development committee level.

Divisional development committees, subject to the direct control of the State Committee, were established for each of Sarawak's five administrative divisions, members being drawn from the elected membership of local authorities – thereby bringing into effective participation minority political opinion in those areas in which opposition parties control councils – from the Administration, in the persons of the Resident and all District Officers in the Division and the Divisional Development Officer, and from the professional departments of the public service, in the persons of their divisional heads. The inherent inefficiency of so large a body in matters of development policy, with committees of twenty or more people, was not unforeseen. Both state and divisional committees were, from the outset, allocated working sub-committees under the chairmanship respectively of the state development officer and the individual divisional development officers. The working sub-committee at state level had as members the directors of Public Works, Agriculture, and Lands and Surveys, and at divisional level the divisional

[7] Paragraphs 129–261.

heads of the same departments; experts from any department could be co-opted as needed and other people with special knowledge might be invited to attend meetings. The primary problem of efficient co-ordination of interests seems, therefore, on objective examination, to be reasonably well met.

The structure of development committees solves, however, not only the problem of bringing together people representing disparate interests and skills but also the extremely serious problems of maintaining an efficient level of co-ordination and, no less, co-operation between officials charged individually with specific programme implementation tasks. Without a development committee organisation, or something similar in both concept and structure[8], that degree of co-ordination is difficult, and frequently impossible, to achieve; experts, particularly those charged with the management of a large organisation or the implementation of a large project, understandably tend to accord significant priority to their own responsibilities and occasionally are reluctant for those responsibilities to be co-ordinated with a wider responsibility to the public, and exercised collectively by a group.

Having examined briefly the initial problem of organisation it is now necessary to consider the effect of the First Malaysia Plan on the development structure. Much of the spirit of the Sarawak Development Plan reappeared in the new plan, but the new plan was more sophisticated, was founded on the experience of several years of development planning in Malaya, and sought to apply the same patterns of development programming throughout the geographically separate territories of East and West Malaysia; Sarawak was brought into closer contact with Kuala Lumpur and the centre of development thinking, the Operations Room of the Ministry of National and Rural Development, became directly concerned with development planning throughout Malaysia. The First Malaysia Plan was comprehensive in scope and highly detailed in treatment; entire chapters, for example, were devoted to the administrative machinery of planning and to agriculture and rural development. The administrative machinery which had been used in the implementation of the Malayan Second Five-Year Plan was extended to Sarawak and Sabah and the plan called for "implementation efforts far greater and more complex than those of the past" and "a high degree of administrative efficiency, close co-ordination among the various levels of government, a working partnership between the public and private sectors and the full and active participation of the Ra'ayat".[9] That the document shows a realistic approach to the general problems of development cannot be in doubt any more than could the State Government's approach in the period before the Sarawak Plan was superseded. Indeed, the plan can speak for itself:—

> "The range of planning has widened to include not only public investment but also government policies designed to stimulate the development

[8] The implementation and administration of large-scale land development schemes in West Malaysia has for several years been charged to the Federal Land Development Authority, whose services in the period covered by this review had not been extended to Sarawak, although the possibility was under consideration during the writer's service in Sarawak.

[9] "Ra'ayat", a Malay word, means "the people".

of the private sector. In addition, improved planning techniques are being employed in plan formulation. Continued improvement of planning in the future will require further strengthening of basic economic and financial statistics and increased technical competence among planning officials".

Not content with this kind of exemplary language the Federal Government introduced State Operations Rooms, modelled on the Operations Room at the Ministry of National and Rural Development, and in Sarawak, whose administrative organisation demanded special treatment, operations rooms were created also at divisional level. The general principles of the national, state and divisional operations rooms are good; not only do they provide an environment conducive to constructive thought on the part of the committees using them, but each is also a centre for the collation and dissemination of development knowledge. Complete current and uniform reports on progress in public sector development projects throughout Malaysia are kept in the national operations room; these records show development activity at all levels of government and set out to emphasise achievement by a bold display of results alongside previously established targets. Maps, charts, films and tape recordings supplement basic records and the store of information is kept up to date by contributions from all available sources, although, obviously, no local operations room can rival the resources or intelligence available to and in the national room – nor, indeed, should it.

The National Development Planning Committee, already mentioned, has no direct function in Sarawak but, as a body exercising general responsibilities in development planning and, no less, as an organ of the Federal Government, its functions in terms of Sarawak's problems are clearly within the scope of this article. The terms of reference assigned to the National Development Planning Committee by the First Malaysia Plan[10] are:—

"(i) to formulate and review all plans for national development and make recommendations on the allocation of resources;

(ii) to review the causes of delays and difficulties in the implementation of national development plans and propose specific solutions;

(iii) to ascertain such adjustments in national development plans as may be necessary in the light of changes in the economic situation;

(iv) in the discharge of the above terms of reference, to use its discretion in making decisions itself or to make reference to the Cabinet or the Economic Committee of the Cabinet;

(v) to consider all subjects to be submitted to the Cabinet by Ministries and Departments which have a direct or indirect bearing on development, and if it considers necessary, to advise the Cabinet on the development aspects of each subject."

The Chairman of the National Committee is appointed by the Cabinet – again, and reasonably, reflecting political opinion: the members are the Governor of Bank Negara, and representatives from the Treasury, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of National and Rural Development, the Economic Planning Unit of the Prime Minister's De-

[10] Paragraph 223.

partment and of the Department of Statistics. Representatives from Sarawak and Sabah have also been appointed to the committee and help to overcome the inevitable lack of familiarity with the peculiar problems of the two Borneo states.

Whilst a clearly optimistic note pervades the plan as a whole, it is clear that the general problems of development planning had not escaped the attention of the Ministry of National and Rural Development. In a ministry handbook[11] published in 1965 there are listed the major defects of earlier planning and development efforts – the Ministry's "Seven Deadly Sins" – and the purpose of the nationwide system of development committees. Committees had been established, it said, in order "to:—

(a) Obtain the maximum co-ordination for all Government Officers concerned with the implementation of development;

(b) Cut down unnecessary paper work and red tape;

(c) Ensure that there was complete co-operation between Government Officers and Members of Parliament;

(d) Ensure that everyone concerned with development was fully in the picture, not only regarding his own specific task, but also to ensure that he fully understood every aspect of Government policy and could realise, in perspective, where his work lay within the broader 'mosaic' of the National Development Plan;

(e) Ensure that difficulties, delays and conflicts in implementation could be quickly thrashed out at all levels and the task proceeded with at speed;

(f) Apply the dictum 'That it does not matter who you are, where you are, what you are – the only thing that matters, on these Development Teams, is to implement development projects as quickly as possible. Results are what is required'! "

The First Malaysia Plan, moreover, pinpointed certain general and specific problems. In respect of Sarawak, for example, it said:—

". . . a special problem is the practice of shifting cultivation by a large part of the rural population, resulting in inefficient use of land."

but in recognising this problem and, indeed, in stating it, its magnitude is not revealed; it is, if anything, oversimplified, since shifting cultivation in Sarawak is not merely reflective of what, in modern scientific terms, is inefficient farming. Where shifting cultivation occurs – and it occurs throughout Sarawak[12] – it reflects customary law and an ancient, cohesive, communal society in which land has an economic, social and religious significance. Roughshod treatment of communities living in this manner obviously cannot be tolerated and, fortunately, does not occur in Sarawak.

In dealing with the specific head of land development the plan provides the largest allocation of public resources. Land development is shown to be a

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[11] "Techniques for Developing Malaysia"; Ministry of National and Rural Development, Kuala Lumpur, 1965.

[12] In 1962, 2,700 square miles of land were under permanent cultivation, compared with 8,700 square miles under shifting cultivation. *Sarawak Annual Report*, 1962.

matter of the utmost importance and attention is carefully drawn to the existence of unused land in Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak and to land hunger throughout the country. The land development programme for Sarawak, in the opinion of the plan's authors, demands the redistribution of smallholdings[13] in many areas, followed by the block planting of rubber and other crops and the creation of new villages with amenities.

The implementation of the development programme continued in Sarawak, after the publication of the First Malaysia Plan, much as it had done under the Sarawak Development Plan. The same specific land development schemes progressed, the same administrative system continued and the same development committees exercised the same responsibilities. The composition of committees, however, did not remain static for long, and a more effective voice in development planning was given to districts and was carried more positively to Kampong level. In fact, from the moment the Sarawak Development Plan had been implemented, the administrative organisation of Sarawak had assured districts of an effective voice, and districts, and local authorities, were well represented on divisional committees; moreover, from the beginning, everyone, from the Chief Minister personally to the most isolated subsistence farmer, could in principle propose a specific development project, from a simple footbridge to a large-scale land development scheme covering many thousands of acres. However, the Malaysia plan was based essentially on the administrative organisation of the Malayan Federation, in which the eleven states were sufficiently small to allow devolution from state to district level without the intermediate divisional level which, in Sarawak, was essential for effective civil administration. Within the states of West Malaysia (the former Federation of Malaya) devolution of the development organisation followed the district pattern and provision was made for state development committees and district development committees, with a lower, and relatively unimportant, Kampong committee under the chairmanship of the village headman. In order, presumably, to maintain a uniform organisation – at least as far as possible – district development committees were established in Sarawak under the plan and specifically in accordance with the State of Sarawak District Development Plan 1966–70 which was published early in 1967.

While the creation of district committees did not diminish either the effectiveness or responsibility of the divisional development committees certain changes in their structure took place; local authorities were no longer necessarily represented by elected members as a matter of course and some direct political appointments were made to divisional committees. Membership of working sub-committees was enlarged by the inclusion of divisional heads of the education department, which itself became increasingly concerned with a curriculum that would be appropriate to the agricultural future of the majority of pupils; a representative of the Information Service was invited to attend both sub-committee and full committee meetings. Many members of divisional development committees also sat on district

[13] Plan, paragraph 341. This is by no means a simple task, either administratively or socially, and is not lightly undertaken.

committees – particularly divisional level officials – and close knowledge of district problems and opinions was thereby assured. The main importance of the district development plan, however, lies in its bringing to Sarawak the Federal Government's groundwork record book; individual district development plans are in the form of a large format volume, known both popularly and officially as the Red (Rural Economic Development) Book, and each contains a comprehensive account, with uniform scale plans, of all development projects within the district, including minor works and land development schemes. It is clearly of the greatest value to everyone directly responsible for project implementation.

Accompanying the Red Book System to Sarawak, as a preface to the district rural development plan, was Rural Development Directive No. 1, issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National and Rural Development, the Hon'ble Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein,[14] and it is worth quoting in full.

"1. The declared and determined aim of the Government is that, for the next five years, the absolute maximum effort will be concentrated on the development of the country, with emphasis first and foremost on Rural Economic Development.

"2. Everything will be done to:—

(a) improve the rural dweller's livelihood and make the countryside a pleasant place to live in;

(b) prepare the way for prosperity of the rural dweller by providing for his way of life, his agricultural livelihood, and for the economic development of his rural industries;

(c) encourage and foster striving towards economic stability and prosperity among the rural community by providing every stimulus and incentive available, and so raise the standard of living in the rural areas;

(d) provide the essential amenities for Malaysian life to the rural dweller;

(e) focus all the services of Government, with full pressure in carrying out execution, towards the betterment of the living conditions of the rural dweller;

(f) educate and inspire the rural dweller in the conviction that productivity, progress and prosperity of Sarawak is in fact the sum total of individual effort by each and every Sarawakian; and so put the onus of the future advancement of Sarawak squarely on his shoulders and make him feel that the destiny of Sarawak and Malaysia, without a doubt, is in his own hands."

The written proposals and objectives of the Sarawak Development Plan and the First Malaysia Plan were and are necessarily an outline statement of principle rather than a detailed plan of action; they resulted, however, at least

[14] In May 1969 Tun Razak took effective executive control of Malaysia as Director of the National Operations Council.

in part, from a recognition of the probable problems of administering a development programme and it has been seen that both plans provided a series of built-in solutions to largely unstated problems which were foreseen but which, in project implementation, were forestalled. Some practical problems, however, led to the preparation in Sarawak, under the Sarawak plan, of a detailed statement of planning and implementation principles for land development schemes for the guidance of development committees. These principles are set out as a sequence of events – including basic reconnaissance and semi-detailed soil surveys, systematic aerial photography and the preparation of topographic maps, and the location of adequate village sites – and, whilst being essentially a solution of technical problems, the statement of principles is no less a contribution to the solving of ever-present problems of co-ordination which occur within committees created to preclude them. Within the framework of the existing land laws of Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah the National Development Planning Committee has introduced, in fact, a reasonably successful[15] development administration, planning and record system. In Sarawak these records are maintained by state and divisional development officers who function respectively as secretaries of the state and divisional development committees and as chairmen of their respective working sub-committees; they also co-ordinate functions in every aspect of development arising under the First Malaysia Plan.

An attempt has been made here to describe the administrative background to modern land development in Sarawak. Comment, perhaps, can best be restricted to the mild observation that the universal problems arising from the need to co-ordinate and co-operate were anticipated and that organisations were set up through which those problems could be minimised. However, problems which cannot be resolved within the framework of the development organisation exist and an attempt must be made to resolve them when they are recognised. Some indication of the nature of these problems has already been given[16] and will now be examined more closely – in so far as they are capable of treatment as administrative rather than as technical problems.

Land administration in its wider context – that is, outside the relatively narrow place of land development *qua* development – is not, within the requirements of either the Sarawak Development Plan or the First Malaysia Plan, removed from the departmental responsibility of the Land and Survey Department. Rather it is exercised – and here the special context of development is not excluded – through the practical expedient of individual divisional superintendents of lands and surveys, in their *ex officio* membership of divisional development committees, acting as advisers on land matters to those committees, and through the director of lands and surveys acting in his general capacity as the Government's adviser on land matters. The major responsibilities of the land administration system in Sarawak – the main area in which problems of administration are found to affect land development – are carried out in the following functions:—

[15] The writer does not, in this article, make any comment on the socio/economic success, or failure, of any Plan or project.
[16] In the fourth paragraph *supra*.

(i) A basic survey system producing both topographic maps and cadastral plans.

(ii) A land alienation system using, almost exclusively, leases for 60 and 99 years, with reversion to the state.

(iii) A land registration system based on the Torrens system of land registration and closely resembling that in use in New Zealand, using a Land Register and an associated cadastral survey plan.

(iv) A system of native land law in which valid claims to customary rights over land are tacitly regarded as amounting to legal rights of ownership.

(v) A valuation system in which charges on alienation and compensation on resumption are determined basically by reference to open market values.

(vi) A planning system essentially based on modern British principles of local authority controlled town planning, New Zealand Torrens principles of subdivision, and on internationally accepted principles of land development and regional planning.

(vii) A development system which co-ordinates, in the manner described in this article, the individual and collective capabilities of the administrative service, the specialist departments and the local authorities.

Within these responsibilities, described above in very general terms, lie hidden problems which have plagued successive administrations for very many years – problems, moreover, which can, unless resolved, preclude land development in any form in some localities. Foremost amongst these is the problem of native rights in a society containing a very high proportion of non-native, mainly Chinese, citizens, whose social and commercial organisation – and acumen – can operate to the detriment of the native communities. Legal sanctions have been adopted to protect native interests and a complex system of land classification is operated under the provisions of the Land Code to restrict non-native ownership of land to statutorily defined areas where, inevitably, values become enhanced. To what extent is protection either necessary or desirable? Is it possible to distinguish social needs from political expediency? And is economic development more important than social harmony? There is no clear answer to any of these questions and breaches of law are almost invariably resolved by administrative decision rather than legal action, the law itself tending to fall into disuse, if not disrepute, and the wishes of parties to illegal transactions tending to become paramount. Thought has not been lacking; serious thought, indeed, was brought to the whole question of land administration as recently as 1962, when legal, social and economic problems were examined by an *ad hoc* Land Committee.[17] Recommendations for relatively sweeping reforms were made and followed by the drafting and publication of four Bills intended to replace the Land Code and to resolve, in a single move, all land problems. In the event the Bills were shelved in May, 1965, following political mis-

[17] Report of the Land Committee, 1962; S.G.P.O., Kuching, 1963.

givings, and in the period broadly covered by this article[18] were not examined again. Indeed, there emerged a feeling amongst both officials and politicians that the Report of the Land Committee* had been sought a little too hastily and that the committee's recommendations had been a little too readily grasped as a panacea.

During the writer's years in Sarawak[19] he undertook a systematic study of the evolution of land administration in the territory[20] but found no ready-made solution to this problem; a tendency to favour the abolition of land classification was always tempered by an awareness of the future plight of the dispossessed, de-tribalised, people who might well gain instant-affluence from the sale of their land to those more able to exploit it. Customary law and communal land tenure, moreover, have an influence which extends far beyond the niceties of land law. Land development schemes tend to be located in areas remote from settled urban communities and to require land over which customary rights are exercised, and have been exercised, in some cases, for many centuries. The occupiers cannot be commanded to move but development is impossible unless they do move, and the questions of purchase, dispossession and participation are not necessarily best treated as separate aspects of the same problem. What is the best approach? Again, no ready solution exists; compulsion is abhorred and never used in respect of land development schemes implemented under the plan, and a combination of political and administrative persuasion is the most that can be undertaken.

Minor problems exist; is rent to be charged for agricultural land? Perhaps not, and certainly in many areas the cost of collection exceeds the fiscal benefit. But rent is charged, except in respect of land for which title has been issued in replacement of customary rights, and the maintenance of records, despite modern equipment and computerised statistics, is a continuing problem. These, however, are local problems, though of direct relevance to land development. More subtle and less definable problems exist in the very relationship of State and Federal Governments. States' rights is a familiar cry in federal systems, and there are those who have suggested that Sarawak's rights have been less than fully respected by the Federal Government. Certainly, whatever the merit of the suggestion, the relationship between the governments in development matters, with the Federal Government controlling the purse-strings, is such that the most sensitive handling of their respective problems is vital. Predictably, difficulties are experienced in allocating funds, in releasing funds, and, inevitably, in spending funds. Blame is

[18] This article, written in September, 1969, covers a period up to the end of 1968.

* *To avoid any possible misunderstanding it may be helpful if we point out that the* 1962 *Land Committee recommended in its Report (para.* 223*) that "Land Classification be abolished and that native interests be protected by a provision in the law that the native may not dispose of his land without the Resident's consent". It is generally accepted that government's withdrawal of the legislation drafted to implement the report was largely due to Dayak fears that with the end of land classification their lands would no longer be protected by law – which would not have occurred. So a well tried process of land control which had proved effective in other countries in safeguarding local interests failed to replace a complicated process of land classification which few outside the Lands Department could understand.* Ed.

[19] 1962 to 1968.

[20] "Land Administration in Sarawak"; S.G.P.O., Kuching, 1968.

readily ascribed by those affected, but what suffers most is the development programme. Difficulty, too, exists in the sheer distance between Sarawak and the national capital, and the problem of evolving a common development pattern from different legal and administrative sources cannot be minimised, though the emergence of the First Malaysia Plan and the Red Book System must certainly be applauded.

The lessons learned from the early years of the post-independence development effort have been fruitful; rationalisation of development procedures has taken place and studies of rural development potential on a regional scale have begun. The sporadic location of large scale schemes throughout the country is, it is to be hoped, a thing of the past. The future, however, is uncertain. Many fine words have been spoken since the Sarawak Development Plan for 1964–68 was implemented but it is impossible for the rural peoples to appreciate the material benefits which can accrue to them until benefits are imminent, and it is difficult for the Government or government officers to pre-determine with confidence the reaction of the rural communities to the final results of Sarawak's programme of development planning.

Reflections on the Oxford Overseas Services Courses*

By E. G. ROWE

Mr. Rowe after heading the Provincial Administration in Tanganyika became the last Supervisor of Overseas Courses at Oxford.

The life and times of the Oxford Courses – 38 active, crowded years in a span of 43 – embodied a wide variety of experience, interests, aims and aspirations and also of policies and teaching methods designed to meet this variety. Their history could, accordingly, be written in several different ways from differing stand-points. The view taken here is that of the post-war supervisors and a few others associated with them in the administrative running of the courses. It describes primarily the nature and pace of the changes in the content and administration of the courses brought about as a consequence of the changes in the world at large and particularly in the countries served. It makes no attempt at an appraisal of the academic content nor the capacity of the course members in relation to this. Though it refers by name to some teachers and to other authorities in Oxford and elsewhere, it does not refer individually to any of the many hundreds of people who took part as members.

The continuing thread running through the whole record is the training, first, of British officers serving as expatriates overseas and, later, its transformation into courses for indigenous officers of the countries served coming to study as expatriates here. Policy was guided at first by a committee composed of representatives of both the University and the Colonial Office; and later by the University's Committee for Colonial (later Commonwealth) Studies and its Courses' sub-committee.

For the record of a complex undertaking such as this, the chronological framework has obvious disadvantages, but it is difficult to escape. The story is divided into three parts:— the pre-war period from 1926 to 1941, the immediate post-war period from 1946 to 1959 and the post-independence period of the 1960s. If the third of these is given the lion's share of space, this may be ascribed less to the mist of fading memory than to the violence of the wind of change. Men on the Oxford courses in the 1960s celebrated about twenty Independence days. About sixteen governments, while one or more of their officers were studying in Oxford, experienced some form of civil commotion ranging from mere riot and mutiny, through military coup and martial law, to the most tragic civil war. The little microcosm of the Oxford courses and their club reflected the great changes that have overtaken so much of the world in this strenuous age.

* This article contains some material which was included in Mr. Rowe's article published in the May 1970 issue of *Oxford*.

1926–1941: "The Guardians"

The origins of the Oxford overseas training courses may perhaps be traced back to the end of the last century, when courses for British officers entering the Indian Civil Service were run by the University. A more reliable starting point is to be found in the 1920s. After the 1914–18 war Sir Ralph Furse and others re-organized recruitment to the Colonial Service and introduced a training system. In Whitehall the decisive period was from the Amery Colonial Conference of 1927, through the Warren Fisher Committee, which reported in April, 1930 and which Furse described as the "Magna Carta of the Modern Colonial Service", to the Passfield Colonial Conference in 1930.

In anticipation, courses for probationers for the Administrative Service in East and West Africa, originally launched in London, were moved to Oxford and Cambridge and became the Tropical African Services Courses. The Oxford course began in Michaelmas Term, 1926, with 22 men, followed by another 15 in Hilary Term, 1927, 21 of the 37 being Oxford graduates. A joint Colonial Office/University committee set up to guide the Oxford course held its first meeting on 7th February, 1927. R. Truslove, Secretary of the University Appointments Board, was the first Secretary of the Course and K. N. Bell, Fellow of Balliol College, its first Tutor. The development of a special link between the University and the old Colonial Service owed much to Kenneth Bell's restless energy and enthusiasm.

The curriculum was widely cast, covering nine subjects in which course members were examined:— Government, History, Local Government, Economics, Tropical Agriculture and Forestry, Criminal Law and Evidence, Anthropology, Islam and Islamic Law and a language, with a glance at such matters as Tropical Hygiene, First Aid, Field Engineering, Surveying and Motor Maintenance as appendages. Conceived as a University course with the aim of stimulating cadets "by giving them an intelligent introduction to subjects which they will continue to develop for themselves, in action and in study, for the rest of their working lives", it probably fulfilled its purpose reasonably well, though it naturally met with some criticism from dons who felt that their particular subjects were allotted inadequate time and from cadets impatient to get out on the job, learning their law on the bench and their language on tour. But none would deny its value in giving the men time to concentrate their minds on the rather specialized professional life that lay before them, in an environment uniquely helpful to the process. It also gave them a most valuable sense of unity of service. At first, studies at Oxford were confined to the Hilary and Trinity Terms after officers had put in some weeks studying a language at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Later, when the Oxford courses expanded to a full academic year, tuition in Hausa and Swahili was started at Oxford. This was a strong reinforcement, for experienced ex-officers like Freemantle and Rattray could teach the cadets far more than a language, and fire their enthusiasm as well.

For a decade and a half, until after the outbreak of the 1939–45 war, a long list of distinguished Oxford names was associated with the guidance and

conduct of the Courses – Bowra, Coupland, Emden, Marett, Masterman, Maud, Morison, Perham, Troup and Veale among them. The courses turned out an annual crop of young officers to join the services of the dependent tropical territories for whose administration Britain was responsible. Those sessions of instruction in the mysteries of surveying, for many years under the direction of Colonel Tandy, seemed strangely tied to the vicinity of the University cricket ground whenever a match was in progress.

At first, the destination was Africa only, and in passing it may be noted that all the post-war supervisors, with the exception of Colonel F. B. H. Drummond, were themselves members of the courses between 1928 and 1936. But the Cunliffe-Lister decision of 1932 brought further changes. The Tropical African Services and the Eastern Cadetships were merged and brought within the scope of a newly created Colonial Administrative Service, with a unified system of appointment by selection. (Entry to the former Eastern Cadetship had been by examination, on the lines of the I.C.S.). As a consequence, the title of the Oxford Course was in 1934 changed from the "Tropical African Services Course" to the "Colonial Administrative Services Course", to include officers posted to such territories as Ceylon, Hong Kong and Malaya.

Truslove retired in 1936/37 and was succeeded as Secretary by Kenneth Bell and Bell as Tutor by John Maud (now Lord Redcliffe-Maud). In June, 1939, Drummond, a new Assistant Secretary to the University Appointments Committee was appointed Supervisor of Probationers and Secretary to the Courses.

1946–1959: "Brave New World"

The post-war period began before the war ended, if this is not too Irish, with the Devonshire Report of 1944. This proposed the addition to the Cadets' Course of a Second Course for men of some years' service, on which selected officers could have the opportunity of studying in depth and in a University atmosphere some subject of interest to themselves and importance to their service.

In 1947 the Creech-Jones despatches called on administrators in Africa to tighten up the team-work that already existed where staff numbers amounted to a team and to evolve more formal instruments in the shape of broadly-based district and provincial teams. They also called for the speeding up of the development of local government, on English lines, as a foundation for national development so giving further definition to the new direction which gradual evolution from the old system of Indirect Rule was already beginning to take. The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, with their sorely-needed boosters in staff, money and resources, generally heartened the Services in the field, with encouraging repercussions in Oxford. All these portents combined to give a zest and a lift to the undertaking, well-matched by the calibre of the post-war intake, many of whom came from commanding units in theatres of war (and some from Japanese prisoner-of-war camps) eager to take up the new tasks of peace. These were indeed vintage years of ideals and enthusiasm, when sun succeeded shadow and hope prevailed.

After five years of war the Course for probationer cadets was resumed in October, 1946. Colonel Drummond again took up his post as Course Supervisor. The next year, 1947/48, saw the initial intake of the Second Devonshire Course, and from this time until 1953 the two courses were known as the First and Second Devonshire Courses. Frank Longland followed Colonel Tandy as Director of Survey tuition and Mr. G. B. Masefield became Academic Adviser about the same time, thereafter giving the Courses devoted service for over 20 years. By 1948 Bryan Keith-Lucas had arrived to teach local government.

In 1947, inspired and led by Margery Perham, the Institute of Colonial Studies was started moving from base to base until reaching its present home in Queen Elizabeth House. These were halcyon days for the Courses, the honoured Oxford names of this period associated with them including Beckett, Bowra, Bullard, Carter, Cross, Champion, Chilver, Davidge, Evans-Pritchard, Frankel, Gluckman, Harlow, Hazlewood, Holdsworth, Kirkwood, Maudsley, Norrington, Veale and Wheare, with Wraith as a visitor. In 1951 Dr. A. F. Madden became an Academic Adviser, thus beginning another stint of distinguished service almost as long as Geoffrey Masefield's. Two other stalwarts (like Vincent Harlow sadly no longer with us) were Francis Carnell and George Bennett. Language tuition advanced at the same time. Up to 1949, cadets had gone for this to sessions at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, in the summer; but from 1950 Messrs. Maguire and Ward, with their assistants, respectively re-established Swahili and Hausa tuition in Oxford.

For Oxford the most prominent outcome of the Munster Committee of 1953 was the clearer definition of the two administrative courses. The First Devonshire, that for probationer cadets, with a few other new entrants to the Administrative Service on direct appointment, continued more or less on former lines with introductory tuition in set subjects and an end-of-the-year examination and was now termed Course A. The Second Devonshire, thenceforward entitled Course B, provided selected officers of a few years' service with the opportunity to study in depth some subject of their choice (approved by their own Government and by the Colonial Office and University) which was allied to their professional careers. Course B soon proved itself an innovation of great value, for hitherto there had been no permanent forum at which serving officers from widely scattered territories could meet and profit from each other's experience. Members of this Course were not examined. Instead, their year of concentrated study was expected to lead to the production of a dissertation on the theme explored. Chosen topics covered a wide range. Administrators being in the majority, subjects such as the interaction of central and local government, federalism or some economic or public financial aspect of the development of backward areas were among the more popular fields; but even among these the list was extended by the esoteric choices of some specialists, such as the borderlands of religious creed and tribal politics in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya. Moreover, to help modify departmental rigidities and to widen the horizons of technical officers being groomed for higher administrative responsibilities in their professions, it was joined by officers (up to an average of 20 per cent

for some years) of departments such as Education, Labour Relations and Co-operative Development. More occasionally, an agriculturist, water engineer, accountant, police officer or Crown lawyer would appear. This broadening of professional interests benefited the whole course, by extending the range to fields such as the role of the local authorities in the development of primary education or the comparative study of various systems of trade unionism and their applicability to a given tropical country. Extreme specialisation, of course, did not fit in so well; so that, for example, the Crown Counsel determined to compare the English and French law of intestate succession with special reference to Mauritius and the Seychelles found a happier niche in a diploma course under the aegis of the Law Board.

The country making by far the greatest use of the Oxford courses at this period was Nigeria. Tanganyika, with under half the Nigerian nominations, came a comfortable second; then came the Gold Coast, Kenya and the countries comprising the present Malaysia, in that order, together with ones and twos from many of the other British tropical dependencies.

H. P. W. Murray, who took over as supervisor from Jerry Cornes in 1953, found during his six years that the Munster changes broadened the intake to both Courses A and B and made them much more flexible, tending to blur the sharper distinctions between young and old, cadet and senior which had obtained earlier. This added variety and interest, and many officers found that what they learned from each other was no small part of all they gained in their Oxford year. The University and the Colleges, despite the growing pressures which sometimes forced them regretfully to refuse qualified British born applicants, remained steadfast in their support and welcome to course members not normally admissible on their own academic merits. Though many were unable to take full advantage of this kindness and facility, the minority who did gained immeasurably from it. The latter part of Peter Murray's incumbency saw the departure of those two great architects of the Oxford Courses, Sir Ralph Furse and Sir Douglas Veale. Nonetheless, the Committee for Colonial Studies under the distinguished chairmanship first of the Warden of Wadham, Sir Maurice Bowra, and later the President of Trinity, Mr. (now Sir Arthur) Norrington, continued its constructive and imaginative part in the formulation and adaptation of policy for the Courses. Towards the end of Peter Murray's time, in 1958, the term "Commonwealth" was adopted in place of "Colonial" in the name of this Committee.

The opening of Queen Elizabeth House in 1954 gave a tremendous reinforcement to services training in Oxford both academically and socially, the Warden and sub-Warden extending unfailing kindness. The Thursday afternoon tea-time "At Homes" were the occasion of many valuable personal contacts. Another tradition instituted about this time which lasted until the Courses' end was the annual party at Rhodes House given at the beginning of each Trinity term for senior members of the University and others concerned with the courses. This was in the nature of an expression of thanks by the Colonial Office and its successors to the University, and afforded opportunities for many useful and informal contacts. A wide cross-section

of academic disciplines was involved and dons found it pleasant to be able to lean over the faculty walls on these occasions.

The 1946–59 period closed with the writer taking over from Murray as Supervisor in September, 1959.

1960–1969: "The New Commonwealth"

The halcyon days were gone and strangely mixed weather marked the 1959–1961 period. Miss (now Dame) Margery Perham and Professor Vincent Harlow (whose death was felt keenly) gave constant inspiration. In 1960 the Warden of Rhodes House succeeded the President of Trinity in the Chairmanship of the Committee for Commonwealth Studies and continued in that office until 1969. These were days before the Ghana giant had revealed his feet of clay and everyone went to Rhodes House to hear Sir Charles Arden-Clarke speak on the classic case of transfer of power. Sir John Macpherson, Sir Richard Turnbull, Sir Patrick Renison and other proconsuls of a disappearing age came to Oxford to make members of the current courses generously free of their experience.

With independence for Tanganyika just down the road, anxious discussion arose in high places as to whether the twelve Tanganyika-bound probationer cadets then at Oxford should complete their course and go out to Africa or, in their own interests, have their appointments withdrawn. Happily, the sensible course of consulting the cadets themselves solved the dilemma. The young men said that, being literate, they could read the signs as well as anyone else. They well realised that "permanent and pensionable" in the conditions of the time might, in the upshot, amount to little more than short-term contracts, but they would nevertheless like to go and have a look-see*. Nor, the whole dozen said a few years later in the intervals of new job-hunting from London to Sydney, was the choice regretted by any of them.

Nor will the bitter lament of a distinguished Belgian colonialist be easily forgotten. He came to Oxford to talk to the supervisor about the training and preparation of African civil servants for coming independence, just as the news broke of the abdication of the Belgian Administration in the Congo. "You British are given to beating your bosoms", he said, "and you say you started late. But compared with us in the Congo you're ahead and out of sight."

With the wind of change blowing up to a full gale and distant shouts of "*Uhuru!*" coming steadily closer, the pace of change accelerated sharply in 1959 and 1960. For the Courses, the most significant of its impacts was upon the pace of localisation of the civil services in countries still largely staffed by expatriates. Even where the leaders would have preferred the process of localisation to be a slow one, popular pressures soon forced a more rapid pace. The composition of the courses swiftly reflected this. Course B, on which inpatriate officers represented only just over half its number by 1958/59, was 75 per cent inpatriate by 1961/62, its last year. Course A inpatriates, having risen sharply to 36 per cent of its total in 1958/59, leapt

* *One at least chose contract terms.* Ed.

on to 70 per cent by 1961/62, its last year. The distinctions between Courses A and B in average age and length of service narrowed to insignificant proportions, so the two courses were amalgamated in 1962/63. For two years the unified course was known simply as the "Overseas Service Course". In 1964/65 a more flexible course, with a wide choice of options, was adopted under the title of the "Overseas Course in Government and Development." 1962/63 saw the last of the British cadets (three for Bechuanaland and one for Fiji). Since then all course members have been locally recruited inpatriates and tuition of African languages has been no longer needed.

In the early 1960s, the understandably excited emotions and the assertiveness of mind of some officers from newly independent countries, or others nearing that stage, made them slow to adopt the objective and dispassionate approach demanded by serious university study. The example of fellow-members from more politically mature backgrounds helped in individual cases; and, as the decade wore on and *uhuru* ceased to be a heady novelty, the tendency became generally less noticeable.

The regional spread also changed in the last seven years. The onrush of African independence at first brought with it a massive preponderance of African officers. This fell away and, in the Courses' final three years, Asians, coming from well behind at under 10 per cent, overtook and went comfortably ahead of the Africans. "Others" (mainly West Indians and a far-flung collection of other islanders) remained at a more even level at roughly around a quarter of the total. The reasons for these patterns are an interesting subject for speculation, but cannot be proved. On the whole, the men mixed as well as could be expected. Inevitably, for much of the time, there were common language groups. But these frequently and constantly broke up and friendships spanning continents were made.

After the disappearance of the British-born officers, virtually all of whom were university educated, the academic standards of the intake became very variable. The proportion of graduates among the administrators on the unified course (Overseas Service and Government and Development) ranged in most years between a quarter and a half. From two to four people a year left the general broadly-based course to specialise; and during the last seven years of the courses eleven university diplomas were obtained.

It was to deal with this kaleidoscope of rapid changes in the background and capacity of the Courses' personnel that the Government and Development Course was designed and introduced in 1964/65. Comparative Government and Regional Studies in modernisation, essential for any administrator, were compulsory subjects of examination. The Course also required a choice of two or three subsidiary subjects from the wide fields of Economics, Law, Public Administration, Natural Resources, Social Anthropology and a language, one of these subsidiaries being selected as a special option and examined. The extent, level and depth of the field to be studied were worked out at individual interviews and adjusted as necessary. Though still termed and treated as a single course, therefore, the programme available amounted in reality to as many courses as there were men on it. Special interests were encouraged and given appropriate scope, from the simple dropping of one

subsidiary subject to allow more time for the study of another to complete transfer from the Course to permit entry to an appropriate University diploma course.

In the middle 1960s, the numbers opting for some branch of the law and those for economics were pretty even. With the addition of Public Administration to the list of optional subjects, however, this subject quickly drew ahead of all others. Some recognised qualifications in modern techniques (particularly American) became regarded as essential to professional career prospects in the fiercely competitive situation in which civil servants of emergent countries found themselves. The growing pull of economics, especially agricultural economics and, in more recent years, development economics (now advanced to diploma status) was also very understandable. Criminal Law lost some of its attraction as ministry officers, without magisterial duties, gradually replaced general field administrators on the Courses. But the refinement of the Law option by including Constitutional and Administrative Law as an alternative to Criminal Law, Procedure and Evidence more than counterbalanced this and the choice between Law and Economics remained closely balanced to the end. Much of this choice of subjects must have rested on genuine individual interest and taste. But there was sometimes an element of "field marshal's baton" about it, too, when officers mentioned that they had been advised as to the subjects most likely to aid promotion prospects. So that it was refreshing, in the final year, to note a return to the choice of Natural Resources – mostly in the shape of Agricultural Economics but in some cases field Agriculture also. A third of the Course chose this as a Special Subject. One would like to regard this as a welcome revival of appreciation of fundamental needs.

The Foreign Service Course, usually manned entirely by graduates, was mainly a feature of the 1960s – though Ceylon, the Gold Coast and Nigeria sent small parties of diplomat trainees in the late 1950s. Some twenty-three governments sent a total of seventy-one people on the Course during the last decade. Over half of them used the Course only once or twice, the most notable of these occasions being a party of eleven officers from Kuwait in 1961/62. Some nine African governments nominated officers, but more than 60 per cent of the membership over the whole period was Asian. Besides Kuwait, the leading users were (from the Commonwealth) Malta, Nigeria and Swaziland; and (from outside the Commonwealth) Iran. The average annual attendance over the whole period was between six and seven; and, for the last five years, between nine and ten. It took time for the existence of the Course to become widely known and also the cost of diplomatic posts inevitably kept numbers small. But the increase in numbers fairly indicated a growing appreciation of the value of the training offered. The establishment of the Course and its reputation owed much to the efforts of Freddie Madden, stoutly aided later by R. G. Feltham. Ralph Feltham made notable additions in the shape of practical exercises and case studies in diplomatic practice.

The Syllabus of Foreign Service Course was always more uniform in pattern than that of the administrators', being without options except as between one language and another. It consisted of International Relations,

International Economics, International Law, Diplomatic Practice and Protocol and a language. Though half a dozen others were studied on occasion the language was usually French, in which the brilliant teaching of Mrs. Lewis in the Courses' last few years attracted many officers from the Government and Development Course to join their diplomatic colleagues.

During this time, the task of finding college places for Course members eased a lot. From 1964/65 the supervisor was no longer responsible for finding college places for foresters. The total of the administrators and diplomats settled down to an annual three dozen or so and admissions, through the continued kindness of the authorities, ceased to be a problem.

Change, inevitably, was not confined to the grass roots of "Training" but took place also at its Olympian heights. For the first two years of this last decade, the Course continued to run at the request of the Colonial Office; for the next three years Authority removed to a new institution called the Department of Technical Co-operation; thereafter, until the end, the fountainhead has been located in the Ministry of Overseas Development.

In 1963 the Bridges Committee on training facilities in public administration for nominees of overseas Governments urged, as one of its main recommendations, the idea of a "Special Institution" for research and training. With its long lead in Colonial/Commonwealth Studies Oxford might well have been thought the appropriate centre for this project, but the choice fell on Sussex. An informal joint discussion of University and Government representatives, convened by Sir Folliott Sandford, the University Registrar, at New College in January, 1964, considered future possibilities of attracting a higher calibre of entrant and advanced the idea of Queen Elizabeth House Fellowships.

The more formidable of the administrative problems of the mid-1960s centred on the question of selection. Many of the officers nominated by user governments, though intelligent and eager young people, lacked the basic foundation of formal education necessary to make proper use of a university course. Yet it was realised that the men who came were doubtless the best available, for such more qualified colleagues as they might have could not be spared from their duty posts. The University's patient response to this situation was magnificent. The reward of much dedicated teaching of poorly qualified material was that the civil services of many a less developed region got a desperately-needed shot in the arm at a vital time – perhaps a greater, if less academically exciting achievement than putting a further polish on flyers quite capable of gaining distinction without going near a tutor.

There were difficulties for the user-governments as well as for the Oxford dons. The newly-independent governments were being ardently wooed, in the training field, by whole galaxies of would-be donor nations from both sides of the Iron Curtain, the Atlantic Ocean, and other divisive geographical phenomena. Against the trumpeting din of competing "aiders and traders" the quiet, academic accents of Oxford University could hardly be heard; nor did suave phrases of H.M.G.'s circular letters seem to "get across" as they used to. In the countries affected there was much talk of crash courses

and short cuts of various kinds. Courses such as those at Oxford and Cambridge were decried, by people who had had no part in them, as too long and too theoretical. Much of the criticism did not stand up to examination, but it had the merit of compelling the course authorities constantly to question assumptions and submit the direction and methods of the course to the test of the experience of each successive year. One direct result of this was the setting-up, in 1963, of the Royal Institute of Public Administration's two-week practical course in one of the vacations. Another was the writer's tours in the West Indies and West Africa in January, 1964, and January, 1965, respectively on behalf of the Ministry of Overseas Development and the University. Personal contact with Governments and many past members of the Courses by then in posts of importance led to a wide range of useful modifications. The launching of the Overseas Course in Government and Development had already been decided upon, but in 1965/66 the introduction of Public administration, Constitutional and Administrative Law and a language as separate optional subjects, a decision to start earlier study of Special Subjects, the introduction of Certificates, of examinations for the Foreign Service Course, of more informative and attractive Course brochures and an annual Newsletter and of provision for the nomination of "quasi-government" officers and short-term nominees (though the short-term facility was never used) were all decided upon after those tours and the ensuing consultations in Oxford and the Ministry. In that year, too, the Courses' identification with the geographical limits of the Commonwealth was relaxed a little since Technical Assistance Awards were granted to other developing countries besides those of the Commonwealth. As a result, for one year the non-Commonwealth membership of the Courses exceeded the Commonwealth members by one. A change of name was mooted but thought inappropriate.

In 1966 Dr. C. Newbury became one of the Academic Advisers to the Government and Development Course, in place of Dr. Madden, the latter thereafter restricting his interest to the Foreign Service Course. Only three more modifications of consequence were made in the shape and content of the Courses in the last three years – the introduction of practical courses in diplomatic method during vacations for the Foreign Service Course; for the Government and Development Course, the provision of more clear-cut facilities for transfer to diploma courses in suitable cases and, in the last year of all, replacement of the rather generalised and uneven regional seminars by a Seminar on the Problems of Developing Countries convened by Lady Hicks.

Extra-curricular activities maintained and enhanced their importance. The most prominent, for the Government and Development Course, were the local government attachments taken by the majority. With more members coming from Ministry duties, the detail of local government practice was of less concern than in colonial days. But many of these welcomed the insight into the volume of public business which the U.K. conducts on this decentralised basis. They rarely failed to remark on the limited functions of the Parish Councils, the powerful position of senior officials in relation even to

committee chairmen, the fact that councillors are unpaid and – in their eyes, the natural consequence of the last point – the high proportion of uncontested seats.

For the Foreign Service Course Ralph Feltham made use of the assistance of the English-Speaking Union and the generous funds of the Ford Foundation to institute, in the Course's last few years, a tour of continental embassies and other points of diplomatic and economic interest in Brussels, Bonn, Geneva, Berlin and Paris. The experience did much to point up the studies of the preceding terms.

In the summer of 1967 the sword of Damocles fell. As the first edict ran, the academic year 1967/68 was to be the last; half a year later, a stay of execution deferred the fall of the curtain to the end of the year 1968/69.

The decision to wind up the Oxford Courses under their present management relieves the Ministry of any direct training operations in Oxford. The Foreign Service Course is to be transferred to the management of Queen Elizabeth House, alongside the Queen Elizabeth House Fellows, and the Oxford Government and Development Course is now abolished. Any future nominee for this type of training in the U.K. is to be directed to Cambridge. The official reason given the University by the late Sir Andrew Cohen, speaking of the similar courses at Oxford and Cambridge, was that:— "It has become apparent that with the growth of training facilities in developing countries and the demand for more specialised and higher level study in Britain, numbers for these two courses are likely to decline to the point where it is no longer economical to run both of them".

How far was the whole undertaking successful in achieving its aims? The evidence is too scattered and fragmentary to support any precise evaluation. But a number of indications encourage the hope that the building was sound – two especially. The first is that man after man, in conversation and later in letters, testified to the help he had gained from his course. This gain in true self-confidence must have proved invaluable. In one memorable letter, the writer said that his most cherished memory was "the love and humility of my tutors." The other is that, even in countries overtaken by violent upheavals, much of the credit for what has remained stable is said to accrue to their civil services – services largely British-trained and many of whose present senior officers were at one time on the Oxford Courses.

Enduring memories, and endearing ones, are many and, as for the last time we slammed the door and left for good, one felt it was not an empty house we were leaving but one full of ghosts – good ghosts, of people who did worthwhile things and enjoyed doing them. It seems that our successors at 2 and 3 South Parks Road are to be, first, Molecular Scientists as brief tenants, followed by Theoretical Physicists for a longer stay. We wish them well in their work and in their stay in our old home. But for a few of us:

"They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep"

– if the scientific ladies and gentlemen will forgive me for putting it that way.

Quarterly Notes

INTERNATIONAL – *The World Bank.*

"By any set of quantitative standards, the World Bank has made progress this past year. The most profound significance of that progress, however, cannot be measured. The advance of the human condition – which in the ultimate analysis is what our entire efforts are directed toward – cannot be summed up in a set of statistics, no matter how precise they may be.

All reality is rich in complexity, and the realities of global development are clearly no exception.

The tasks before us, then, require comprehensive action, and comprehensive action can only have its roots in comprehensive and creative thinking.

Economic development requires financial resources. Indeed, it requires far more than have yet been made available.

But the resource it requires most is creative innovation.

The World Bank Group is – at its core – an innovative, problem-solving mechanism. Its problem is to help fashion a better life for mankind in the decades ahead.

To the degree that we are innovative and resourceful, we can succeed at that task.

I believe that you and I – and all of us in this effort – could ask for no more significant a responsibility than the one we share.

It is an endeavour demanding the very best that is in us.

Its reward is the very best, too: the satisfaction of demonstrating that though man's ancient limitations in nature may be perennial, his ancient deprivations of dignity need not be permanent.

> Our disappointment is about man's past.
> Our dissatisfaction is over man's present.
> Our dedication is to man's future."

(From Mr. Robert S. McNamara's address to the Board of Governors, September, 1969).

COLOMBO PLAN – *Special Topic for* 1970: *Growth Rates* 1968.

"International assistance for education for development" is the topic of special interest selected for 1970.

Growth Rates

For the majority of countries in the region, 1968 was a relatively good year. Eight of the twelve countries for which gross product data for the year are now available achieved real growth rates of 5 per cent or better.

However, the four with slower rates, Afghanistan, India, Indonesia and Vietnam, contain over two-thirds of the total population of the region. On present form, it appears probable that at least seven of the countries in the region will achieve a greater than 5 per cent annual average increase for the entire decade of the sixties, in spite of the many difficulties which have hampered faster progress; these include Korea, Iran, Singapore, Thailand, Pakistan, Malaysia and the Philippines. In Ceylon, India and Indonesia, recent improvements in agricultural output and some easing of foreign exchange constraints allow at least limited optimism about future trends. There is, however, not a country in the entire group which does not face major problems and uncertainties about the future. Dependence on continuing high growth rates in the developed countries, as a necessary but not sufficient condition for satisfactory growth in the developing countries, is common to all of them; population pressure, structural imbalances, regional income and growth rate disparities, urban unemployment and rural underemployment, and tight foreign exchange propsects are widespread.

UGANDA: *Training of Administrators and other Public Officers.*

As part of the 7th Independence Anniversary Celebrations in October, 1969, President A. Milton Obote of Uganda opened the new Institute of Public Administration. This marked the completion of the first phase of the building of this institution which has been operating in temporary premises and moving towards final establishment for some years.

The construction so far completed provides accommodation for 160 trainees in residence and a further 260 not in residence at any one time. It was built at a cost of about £355,000. A second phase, to provide mainly for further flats and housing for training staff, remains to be built, at an estimated cost of £100,000.

The overall task of the Institute is to provide training for at least the key members of the civil service of Uganda, now numbering about 28,000 in established posts. In addition, it gives the same service for selected employees from amongst the 5,000 strong staff of local and urban authorities. To try to meet these needs the annual throughput will be between 1,000 and 1,500 trainees on courses of various lengths from three weeks to nine months.

The Institute is also charged with doing everything possible in the training field to advance the Government's policy of close and constant co-operation with para-statal bodies and with the public sector. This is being achieved by joint courses and seminars, as well as by less formal contact.

In order to co-ordinate residential and correspondence-course training, to give greater effectiveness and a larger training audience, a Correspondence Course Training Unit which was established by the Uganda Government with the assistance of the U.N.D.P. and the British O.D.M. has now been integrated as one of the four schools of the Institute. The other three are; Administrative, Executive and Local Authorities.

The Institute is also a Deposit Library for Uganda, and the establishment provides for a research component amongst the staff of each school. These will be amalgamated eventually into a separate research unit within the Institute, with the aim of continuing to assist training staff, and also to expand the range of advice already made available to other Government departments as a result of research work carried on at or through the Institute.

JAPAN – *Urban future planning*

Projects which in Japan form a basis for future planning would probably still meet with violent opposition in Europe today. There are examples of this. The boom that began in Japan in 1950 brought in its train tremendous increases in the population of the big cities. Tokyo, which with more than ten million inhabitants is one of the world's largest cities, is still growing by about 400,000 people a year. It is estimated that in the near future Japan's capital and Osaka will have merged into a megalopolis with some 70 million inhabitants. Japan's architects and urban planners have devised several solutions to this problem.

In 1958 Kiyonori Kikutake put forward the plan for a city on the sea: on large floating surfaces houses should be built from prefabricated parts. By connecting the individual artificial islands together a sea city could be created, which could be increased or reduced in size as required.

Kenzo Tange, one of Japan's best contemporary architects, also devised an urban expansion plan for Tokyo – a linear expansion out into the Bay of Tokyo. This plan provides for a large central axis, on which office blocks, business establishments and government offices are located. Residential districts are arranged along side streets running at right angles to this axis. For the residential blocks he has selected the form of a concave pair of cement surfaces which swoop down from a great height to sea-level. In style they are reminiscent of many farmhouses in the country or of a group of roofs in Shoin style. In 1962 Arata Isolzaki proposed the construction of vertical cities: the residential units hang in groups high above the earth from tree-like structures, which have trunks and branches.

Here solutions are being presented for problems which will descend upon Europe in the not too distant future and which are already a reality in Japan.

And therefore, just as European traffic planners have learnt from the experience of the highly motorized United States, urban planners ought closely to follow developments in Japan.

CANADA – *needs local government training institute*

The annual report of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities contains a proposal for the establishment of a municipal training institute. In the words of the report, ". . . one of the most important necessities in the branch of municipal administration today in Canada is the need for a municipal training institute . . . since the end of the Second World

War, the evolution of local government in the direction of regionalism represents the only hope for our citizens as regards securing the benefits of good government without encountering the risks of centralized governmental administrations, and this evolution clearly indicates that the best administrators of the future will have to be those persons concerned about the local and regional functions. There it is obvious that the educational and training facilities have to be wide, comprehensive and of the best quality, offering graduate and post-graduate courses in public administration . . . "

HOLLAND/BELGIUM – *Frontier co-operation*

Five Dutch and seven Belgian frontier municipalities have decided to establish a joint co-operation unit. Problems to be tackled in common include: education, water purification, fire fighting, refuse collection, old age care, social welfare work and public transport.

More to the east, two municipalities have been co-operating for years across the frontier. They have united their planning, are establishing a joint industrial site and a joint covered swimming pool. The Dutch fire fighting brigade for years has been crossing the frontier whenever their Belgian colleagues are in trouble. Common refuse disposal was, however, stopped by the customs, who charged a 20% import tax on the refuse car at its first tour.

(Source: *IULA Newsletter*).

Book Reveiws

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NIGERIA, 1900 to 1960, – Men, Methods and Myths, by I. F. NICOLSON, *Oxford Studies in African Affairs, The Clarendon Press*, pp. 312, 45s.

The theme of this book is "Let us now praise famous men". With one infamous exception.

The early chapters bring to life some proconsuls of whom too little is known today, and whose names are apt to survive as those of suburban streets – MacGregor, Moor, Egerton. Mr. Nicolson, who admires them enormously, tells us of their true stature. He later writes, with equal sympathy, of Temple, Girouard, Clifford, Cameron and others, though a chapter on "Transition to Ministerial Rule" strangely deserts the principal theme of the book, which is the influence of outstanding individuals on situations where one would expect the greatest individual to be insignificant. At this point in the book administrative achievement on the grand scale gives place to the domestic minutiae of approaching independence.

The beginning and much of the end of the book, then, are about the "men" and the "methods" of the sub-title. The central part, for which it will become best known and for which it may achieve a *success de scandale*, is concerned with a man and his "myth" – the third element of the sub-title. The author sets out to explode the myth of Lugard. No-one can possibly complain that he does it by halves. With such courtesy and grace as the circumstances allow he tackles the hardly less formidable task of relieving Dame Margery Perham of her life-long illusions on the subject.

Mr. Nicolson became a professional academic after a successful if somewhat prickly career in the Colonial Service in Nigeria, and is exceptionally well qualified to write this book. It is the kiss of death for an academic to find himself described as readable, so I will merely say that personally I could not put the book down and that I thought a good deal of it extraordinarily well written. I knew already that Lugard was irascible, egocentric and unable to delegate; that one somehow had to reconcile the indirect rule that he preached with the strict, authoritarian rule that he practised; and that he must often have been quite intolerable. This had not too greatly diminished my respect for a towering achievement, as I had supposed that one must not judge any man's actions in 1900 in the light of the accepted attitudes of 1970; that the people whom he conquered and administered did not necessarily share my own distaste for military dictatorship, and that in any case those were bucaneering days; and that looking at his career as a whole he mellowed from adventurer to statesman. I now learn that he was an essentially squalid character – devious, untruthful, disloyal, self-advertising and incompetent, and that his wife rivalled him in at least three of these attributes.

Is this, then, an unbalanced book? Since Mr. Nicolson meticulously gives his sources for every assertion – Lugard's own works, the biography,

the Colonial Office records, the writings of Temple and Clifford – one cannot with any certainty say that it *is* unbalanced without extensive reading to discover how selective he may have been. There is a presumption of selectivity, since throughout the book he has nothing good to say about Lugard and nothing bad to say about anyone else. Almost everything that is wrong today is Lugard's fault. The others command his admiration – almost his hero-worship – and not as simple Empire builders but as friends of the African, anxious to bring him forward to self-reliance. Only Lugard was determined to hold him back. But this is nonsense. Clifford, in 1919, was deeply impressed, we are told, by the quality of the African Civil Servants' Union, yet by 1949 the African's place in the civil service hierarchy was lowlier than at the end of the nineteenth century. Again, accepting that Lugard's rumbustious goings-on make less appeal to us today than the quiet, municipal, almost Fabian virtues of MacGregor and Egerton, it is improbable that throughout a long career Lugard neither did nor said anything praiseworthy. But nothing praiseworthy appears in these pages. The methods of proconsuls working at the Coast, among the trading people, are compared with Lugard's forays in the distant emirates. Is this reasonable? Incidentally, it is only in Lugard's North that there has been stability of administration, or systematic tax-collection, throughout the troubled years of independence.

There are times when the reassessment seems to become a vendetta, when the quiet irony which Mr. Nicolson can so effectively command becomes indiscriminate attack. He successfully removes the halo; does it in fact further the truth to substitute horns and a tail?

One interesting thing about biographies – and the book is in part biographical – is what they tell you about the biographer. I knew Mr. Nicolson in Nigeria as an administrative officer of somewhat craggy principle, no respecter of persons and with (for me) an engaging habit of speaking his mind. On one occasion a Minister whom he served asked why he disliked him so much, to receive in reply a pungent and unflattering character sketch – with which, to his credit, the Minister was disposed to agree. Had Mr. Nicolson served under Lugard he would, in a necessarily brief tenure of office, have said to his face what he now says in this book – though Lugard would *not* have been disposed to agree.

The book is well worth reading and will be widely read. Having read it myself I read the dust-cover, and found that the Clarendon Press apparently regard it as a "fairly drastic reassessment". What their idea of a *really* drastic reassessment would be I cannot think.

R. E. WRAITH

PLANNING AND THE POLITICIANS AND OTHER ESSAYS by A. H. HANSON; *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London*, 1969; index; pp. 355; £2 16s. 0d.

Planning and the Politicians is a stimulating collection of essays, most of which have previously been published as separate articles. The book is divided into four main sections: Parliament, Administration, Development,

and principles; each is interesting, but the section on Development will appeal particularly to students of the politics of new states. Since the author adopts an empirical rather than a theoretical approach to the specific problems which he examines, his book will also have value for the practising politician and administrator.

Though the focus of several of the essays in the Development section is on India and Pakistan, most of the discussion is relevant to the underdeveloped countries as a whole. Thus, in 'The Crisis of Indian Planning' (first published in 1963) Professor Hanson argues that in view of the serious social obstacles to economic development in India, planners in that country made inadequate use of sociologists and were physically isolated from the people. Rural development policies tended therefore to be formulated without sufficient regard to "the reality of the faction – divided, caste-divided, and class-divided Indian village." Though social divisions are less marked in African than Indian villages, the leaders of the new African states face the same problem of achieving "Soviet-type results without the use of Soviet-type methods". The problem is immense and experience (in mainland Tanzania, for example) has shown that if plan objectives are to be achieved mass persuasion techniques may have to be supplemented from time to time by regulation and compulsion.

The essay on 'The Administration of Planning' (1962) underlines points whose validity is widely recognised, though not invariably acted upon. The gist of the argument can be summarised in Arthur Lewis's words: "The economics of development is not very complicated; the secret of successful planning lies more in sensible politics and good public administration." Professor Hanson discusses the location of the planning agency and concludes that the Prime Minister (or Chief Executive), as well as the main economic-spending Ministers, should be closely associated with its work. He stresses that the problem of administrative co-ordination is "of the very essence of planning," and argues that leading politicians must be fully committed to the plan and resist the temptation to make alterations to it which are not justifiable in economic terms. The author also maintains that "a positive revolution in government's administrative policies" is a prerequisite of rural development and that rural administrators should be selected from the very best of the administrative corps. Many African leaders share these sentiments but do little to implement them; President Kaunda of Zambia may prove to be a notable exception.

Another essay with obvious lessons for the politician and administrator in new states is that on "Public Authorities in Underdeveloped Countries" (1961). Professor Hanson states the basic principles that ought to govern the establishment of such authorities and says that India, with all her administrative faults, has probably followed these principles more consistently than any other country. He points to the danger of setting up a plethora of quasi-independent agencies to undertake functions which, in some cases, would be better performed by central government Ministries. He also discusses the record of industrial development corporations and agricultural agencies, and questions whether rural development can be promoted by means of co-

operative societies and collective farming. Here, as elsewhere in these essays, we are presented with the shrewd comments of a balanced and thoughtful observer.

WILLIAM TORDOFF

MUNICIPALITIES & THEIR FINANCES, by Dr. CHANDRA PRAKASH BHAMBRI; *Padam Book Co., Jaipur,* 1969; pp. 144; Rs. 12.

This is a useful little collection of comparative data on five municipalities in the state of Rajasthan in India. Although intended to deal primarily with the problems of municipal financing, the author rightly extends his examination to the purposes which the finances are intended to serve, and how well or badly this is done.

The five municipalities examined reveal by and large the handicaps that have consistently plagued the administration of local bodies almost everywhere, and certainly in India. These include, a reluctance, or inability on the part of the state government to provide the local body with the money it needs; an equal if not greater reluctance on the part of the local body to make sufficient use of its powers and opportunities to raise local resources; a constant tendency from above to interfere with the working of the local bodies, matched by an equal inability, or impotence, to exercise adequate control over the quality of their performance.

The author expresses his own conclusion, quoting Ursula Hicks, "a general lack of responsibility, unwillingness to raise tax rates, graft and inefficiency in collection". But he might with advantage have laid similar emphasis upon the other factors, the lack of resources provided and the tendency to interfere from above.

Of the five municipalities only one, Ajmer (incidentally the only one of the five that was formerly administered under the control of a Chief Commissioner responsible to the central government) makes any fair showing in providing services such as waterworks, dispensaries and the like, and in levying sufficient rates of house tax and octroi. In the others, not excepting the state capital Jaipur, the levy and collection of local taxes is marked by inefficiency or worse. And in the matter of collections, the author gives figures to show how the state government's own departments located in the municipality are amongst the major defaulters.

Having pointed out the shortcomings, Dr. Bhambri finds himself forced to conclude: "How to remedy the situation is the concern of all". True as this is, it is perhaps primarily the concern of the duly constituted boards, the municipal Commissioner, and the state government to bestir themselves, for they are the authorities who have the power to apply the remedies.

For a small volume like this, the author is to be commended upon the amount and selectivity of the figures, and specially upon the effort he has made to get the figures as up to date as possible, down to the year 1967.

S. S. KHERA

ANNUAL SURVEY OF COMMONWEALTH LAW 1968, Ed. Professor H. W. R. WADE; *Butterworth & Co.* 1969; index, tables; pp. 857; £8 8s.

The Annual Survey of Commonwealth Law 1968, the fourth of these Annual Surveys, covers the period July 1967 to June 1968. As on previous occasions, it reviews in a most comprehensive and exhaustive manner the current law of every country in the Commonwealth and does so, this year, in a volume of over 800 pages.

The first chapter, and in some ways the most important, is the chapter on Constitutional Law where the numerous constitutional changes which have taken place during the twelve-month period under review are summarised in masterly fashion. We learn, for instance, that Mauritius became the twenty seventh independent member of the Commonwealth, that Papua and New Guinea moved further towards self-government, that the Gilbert and Ellice Islands obtained a new constitution, that Nauru, the phosphate island, became the smallest independent state in the world and that Perim and the Kuria Muria Islands ceased to be part of Her Majesty's Dominions. But attention will be focussed particularly on judicial decisions on the constitutional problems of Rhodesia which are here analysed with clarity and objectivity; in this context, the comments on the criteria of lawful government in the subsequent chapter on International Law are most helpful. An interesting but little-known fact which emerges from these comments is that the Commonwealth Office certificate which the Secretary of State presented to the Rhodesian High Court, used the terms *de facto* and *de jure* government, but, oddly enough, the Privy Council subsequently held that these terms should not be applied to the position in Rhodesia as they belonged only to international law. The Privy Council judgment was delivered after the period covered by the survey but we are promised a full analysis of the majority and the dissenting judgments in next year's survey. The chapter on Fundamental Rights and Civil Liberties has some forthright comments on the "hasty" passing of the U.K. Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 as a result of which many Kenya Asians lost their unrestricted right to enter their legal homeland. "It seems to be a basic fault of the new legislation in the United Kingdom that for the first time it has been found necessary to treat some people who are legally full citizens as being second-class citizens." (p. 141). It is refreshing to read an objective assessment of this legislation, stripped of cant and double-talk. The chapter on International Law contains some very interesting observations on the micro-state, as illustrated by Anguilla, and on the possibility of associating micro-states with the United Nations, which should stimulate new thinking on a new subject. It also contains some important information on the measures recently taken in the U.K., patterned on the European Convention on Marine Broadcasting Offences 1964, to prevent "pirate broadcasting."

There are, of course, chapters on criminal law, contract, torts, trusts, real property, commercial law and all the other familiar categories which are to be found in Halsbury's Laws of England but with the difference – and it is a very big difference – that there will be found not only commentaries on the

latest English decisions but also on the latest decisions of every court in the Commonwealth. The commentaries are occasionally repetitious, which is no doubt inevitable with twenty seven different contributors, and they are somewhat uneven in style. To refer to a pronouncement of the Saskatchewan Bench as a *cri de coeur* is a little startling and to describe a dictum of Lord Devlin as a canard sets one wondering; to say nothing of the exclamation marks sprinkled here and there by some of the learned contributors.

But whatever may be said of the style of some of the commentaries the range and scope of the case law reviewed in the Survey is most impressive. Some idea of the coverage may be obtained from the index of the law reports cited in this volume which lists over 300 different sets of reports published in 23 different countries. Instead of searching laboriously through the reports, text-books, journals and newspaper files of distant Commonwealth countries for analogous cases when advising on legal problems, the practitioner can discover with a minimum of effort, by consulting this Annual Survey, whether any similar problems have been considered recently in any Commonwealth court. Moreover he can feel confident – such is the thoroughness of the survey – that if there is no mention of them, none have in fact arisen during the period under review. The importance of this aid to the busy practitioner, or to the academic lawyer for that matter, is well illustrated in the chapter on Taxation where it is pointed out that "the diverse tax systems of the Commonwealth, due to the persuasive authority which the courts of most member countries recognise in the analogous decisions of other Commonwealth courts, have achieved some degree of harmonisation." The harmonisation which exists in the field of taxation law should be even more marked in the field of contract and tort where the common law has thrown deep roots in almost every territory of the Commonwealth. But in order that the roots may flourish and fructify, it is vital that the courts of the Commonwealth and those who practise in them should have readily available the latest decisions in all important cases, a facility which exists now for the first time in this Annual Survey. For these cases, and the principles they embody, are the warp and weft from which the fabric of the common law is woven. The Annual Survey provides a loom on which a wider and finer fabric can be made than has been possible hitherto; and the fabric has a very attractive border in the form of lists of books, journals and articles at the end of the various chapters to enable anyone who so wishes to examine the subject in greater detail. These mini-bibliographies will be particularly useful when dealing with rapidly developing subjects like the Ombudsman and monopolies.

The importance of this Annual Survey will, no doubt, ensure that it is included in the libraries of all the Commonwealth courts and Commonwealth government departments; and its usefulness as a Lawyer's What's What should make it as indispensable as a Who's Who in every well-equipped office in the Commonwealth.

JOHN WHYATT.

THE PERSIAN LAND REFORM 1962 – 1966, by Professor A. K. S. LAMBTON; *Clarendon Press, Oxford;* Glossary, Index; pp. 366; 845.

Professor Lambton's latest book is to some extent a sequel to her monumental earlier book, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, published in 1953. It is, however, written from a slightly different standpoint. Landlord and Peasant was an exhaustive study of the various systems of land tenure in different areas of Persia and was a factual and historical record. In her new book she has adopted a critical approach which leads to a social and economic evaluation of land reform. This is not to say that the present book is based on less thorough research and one is astonished at the number of journeys and interviews she managed to cram into her four or five visits to Iran during the University long vacations, in the heat of the Persian year. For this reason alone the book would be remarkable, but it has many other virtues which will make it important for those who work in this field in Iran and also for students and workers concerned with land reform all over the world.

The first two chapters of the book set the scene. They give a concise account of the country and the people and of the political, social and economic background against which land reform took place. These chapters should be required reading for anyone interested in modern Iran even if they are not students of land reform. Professor Lambton devotes six chapters to the various stages of the law and regulations under which land reform was begun and to the execution of the first stage of the reform. Three chapters deal with the second stage and detail the new regulations and the methods of division by tenancies, by sale, by the creation of agricultural units and by the purchase of the peasants' rights. Finally there are chapters on the investigation of disputes, on irrigation and on the formation and running of co-operative societies. These societies have been responsible for providing the finance, business activities and management for the peasants as independent farmers.

In the chapters which set the scene Professor Lambton seems to me to undervalue the effects of the work of Amlak Pahlavi, which carried out the organization of distribution of the Shah's own land in the fifties. I saw this work at first hand and was conscious of the pragmatic, non-doctrinaire, approach of those responsible for the organization of the Bank Umran and of the co-operatives. Professor Lambton praises the same approach by land reform officials and attributes (rightly, I am sure) much success to it. In my opinion some of the credit for this and for some of the ideas should go to Amlak Pahlavi.

This early distribution of land by the Shah was not followed, as had been hoped, by large scale distribution by private landlords. But it was clear that the fossilizing nexus between landlord and peasant had to be broken if a modern economic state was to be created and so compulsion was introduced. Professor Lambton gives an interesting account of the difficulties which faced land reform in the early days because of the strong opposition of landlords and other interested parties. At one stage in 1962 there was considerable doubt if the reforms could be carried through. A speech by

the Shah at Marageh in September 1962 at an early distribution ceremony and another to the National Congress of Peasants in January 1963 are mentioned as influential, but the firm attitude of the Shah in the less public activities which accompanied the setting up of the background organizations and the provision of finance which made the reform possible, was of equal importance.

Professor Lambton's final chapters on irrigation and on the creation of the co-operatives are of special interest. During her research for Landlord and Peasant she acquired what is perhaps a unique knowledge of irrigation traditions and practice in Iran and she draws on this knowledge in her comments on the difficult problems posed by the distribution of irrigated land. She has more recently made a study of co-operatives which gives authority to her three chapters on their organization and development. The evidence she has collected from all over the country of a genuine feeling for and understanding of co-operation among even the more backward peasants is interesting.

Much of this book explains what has happened to the peasants under land reform and what their economic and social development has been and seems likely to be. A study she does not undertake concerns the effect on landlords and on the economy as a whole of land reform. In many ways there appears to have been both private and public advantage from the breaking of the nexus for both parties, but this must await the study of another student.

Professor Lambton pays what is clearly a heart-felt tribute to the work of the officials of the Land Reform Department (later Ministry) and of the Central Organization for Rural Co-operatives (now part of the Ministry). To those who have watched land reform elsewhere it will come as no surprise to learn that the success of the reform in Iran depended to a large extent on this work carried out under great difficulty in remote and backward areas by men who were clearly inspired by their leaders to efforts much beyond what would be expected from ordinary government service.

MATHEW WORDSWORTH.

EMPIRE INTO COMMONWEALTH, by Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS; *Ernest Benn*, – 1969; pp. xi + 391, appendix, bibliography, index; 63s.

"It is a matter for speculation whether some future Gibbon will entitle his work *the Decline and Fall* or *the Transformation of the British Empire*. The view taken in the present book is that the metamorphosis of the Empire into the Commonwealth was a logical continuation of the process by which, within Britain, 'freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent'. Self-government may not be better than good government, but the political heirs of John Hampden were bound to think it so. The foregoing chapters contain the story of what British men and women did in pursuance of that belief. It is too soon to judge the durability of their work. Of its sincerity there can be no doubt."

Thus the author's epilogue describes his approach to the story he tells of the birth, growth and transformation of Empire into Commonwealth. And

the objective of the book is, "to show how this was in fact the logical conclusion of British policy from the outset – the coping-stone on what, if it endures, may be the greatest political edifice yet constructed by man".

Sir Percival writes without heroics, frills and prejudice, with an economy of words and sureness of style which holds the reader and makes the remarkable epic come to life and sustains the interest from the first chapter, entitled "British and Other Imperialisms" until the last, which tells the unhappy story of South Arabia. Discreditable as well as laudable incidents are recorded in the same even and mature style. Dispassionate it is but never dull. This brilliantly selected record of Britain's relations with dependent territories in all their diversity, successes and failures constitutes a fascinating whole linked by the informed comment of a wise and experienced writer, the fruit of first-hand knowledge of practical administration politics and commerce overseas, mostly in India. Those who would study these affairs in greater depth will no doubt turn to the voluminous Cambridge History of British Empire and to other such detailed standard works. Here the survey of the vast field, condensed into one volume of four hundred pages, will attract the general reader and the student of administration of developing countries looking for general background knowledge. Those familiar with a particular area or period will no doubt feel that more might have been written about this or that development or episode. They will also be impressed by the sureness with which Sir Percival has selected his material and woven the whole into an impressionist tapestry, with background highlights and detail nicely blended.

Many of the important administrative problems encountered in developing countries are touched upon. The establishment of law and order, honest administration, land tenure, over-population, public health, irrigation, economic development. Here is the proposition that the first duty of government is to establish law and order and efficient honest administration and the economic and social rest will follow.

After tracing the changing outlook on the colonies from the early days when "all concerned agreed that plantations existed only for the benefit of the mother countries" he records the birth of a new idealism and the doctrine of trusteeship towards the end of the last century. "A new kind of lay missionary spirit was born which to a great extent now moulded the Indian and Colonial Civil Services. Such a spirit might often degenerate into arrogance and it is only too easy to scoff at the idea of the White Man's Burden. To do so, however, is to fail to understand the genuine upsurge of idealism which took place side by side with the commercialism and the rather vulgar forms of nationalism". One is tempted to quote further from the rich store provided. Of the conquest of Sind by Napier in 1839, "The ultimate comment on it must be of Napier himself – 'We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be'." And of the occupation of central Africa, "there is no place in objective thought for the myth of the noble savage or for the sentimental wish that he could have been left 'uncorrputed by civilization'. Life in central Africa before the advent of the British was nasty, brutish and short."

Perhaps the reader will become a little breathless following the final race to independence as he reaches the final chapters of the story, when there were many tumbles and tosses as the goal was reached, and beyond it, but so much writing on colonial affairs has been soured and distorted by ignorant or mischievous prejudice that it is refreshing to find this well balanced survey and commentary.

R. S. HUDSON.

MALAYSIA, by J. M. GULLICK; *Nations of the Modern World Series, Ernest Benn Ltd., London*, 1969; bibliography, index, 16 pages of illustrations, map and two appendices; pp. 304; 45s.

A federal form of government tends to be adopted where communities feel that they have too much in common either to remain separate unitary states or to form a loose confederation, but not enough to form a single unitary state. It follows that federations usually suffer from some degree of built-in stress. In his book on the subject, Sir Kenneth Wheare quotes, as applicable to federal government, the words of Walter Bagehot on the cabinet system, " . . . rare because it requires the co-existence of several national characteristics which are not often found together in the world." In the post-war years it seemed for a time that the federal form of government might become less rare, but the history of the Commonwealth federations that were set up during that period suggests that it remains a difficult system to operate successfully.

The Federation of Malaysia, established in 1963 from the eleven states of the Federation of Malaya, and the former "colonies" of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, faced peculiar difficulties, in that none of its constituent parts were themselves racially homogeneous, and within two years the State of Singapore, with its large Chinese majority, had become an independent Republic outside the Federation. The interest with which one follows Malaysia's progress must therefore be tinged with anxiety, heightened by the tragic events which followed the West Malaysian elections in May 1969. Mr. Gullick's book, which was completed after those events took place, provides a most useful background to their understanding.

The book takes its place in the Nations of the Modern World Series as a replacement for Mr. Gullick's earlier work in the same series on Malaya. About half of the present work is devoted to the history of Malaya, now generally known as West Malaysia, from the foundation of the Malacca Sultanate in the 15th century to the independence of the Federation of Malaya in 1957. There follow very much shorter sections on Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak. Malaysia, as such, is dealt with only in the last hundred pages of the text. Those pages are however full of meat and provide the reader with an account, at once comprehensive and succinct, such as could only be given by a writer with the deep and close knowledge of the subject which Mr. Gullick clearly has. He is consistently successful in picking the key issues out of complicated situations and providing a lucid summary. Take the following passage (from his Introduction):

"In their relations with the Malays the Chinese have shown themselves realistic in seeking a compromise. They are not greatly interested in politics as such but are not prepared to sink to the status of permanent second-class citizens. They can recognise the case for building a nation in Malaysia but are determined to preserve their identity and culture in any such nation. Therein lies much of the difficulty." Again, from the chapter on Defence and Foreign Policy: "Much of the Malaysian outlook on the world is a reflection of domestic problems and experiences. The long struggle to suppress Communism at home between 1948 and 1960 has implanted a determined anti-Communism in the ninds of Malaysian leaders except on the extreme left. But in dealing with the communist powers this attitude has been qualified by the growing importance of trade with Russia, eastern Europe and even China. On the other hand, the same factor creates a fear of being swamped in their own country which inclines the Malays to seek friends among their kindred in Indonesia and the Philippines. This attitude is one of the constants of Malaysian external relations. But it is qualified by the record of Indonesian hostility, especially during the period (1936–66) of confrontation. Hence Malaysia also looks for allies who will support her, as Britain did during the confrontation period, if her Malay neighbours again become aggressive. But the impending withdrawal of British forces . . . leads to a reappraisal of defence policy. The other main determinant of Malaysian foreign policy is economic; it is necessary to sell rubber and tin at satisfactory prices and also to secure both capital and technical aid for industrialization if the Malaysian economy is to expand and diversify. This factor affects Malaysian relations with Britain, the United States, Russia and also Japan."

Economic questions are dealt with in very broad outline in Chapter 18, but Mr. Gullick has very little to say about public finance, often of crucial importance in a federation, particularly a multi-racial one. Some account of fiscal questions generally, for example, the incidence of taxation and the division of financial resources between the Federal and State governments, would have been both interesting and useful. This might have led naturally to a discussion of the budgetary effects of the British military withdrawal and the adequacy of foreign aid to offset them.

Two minor criticisms may be mentioned. The map is barely adequate, and the figures in the second footnote on page 224, dealing with proposed total investment for the five years 1966–70, do not seem to add up. But these small blemishes fade into insignificance beside the manifold merits of Mr. Gullick's study, which will be of great value to students of the Malaysian scene.

WWS.

Other Books Received

AGRICULTURAL EXPORT DEVELOPMENT, by YOERI KYESIMIRA; *East African Publishing House;* tables; pp. 100; Shs (EA) 10.50.

This study emphasizes the vital role of agriculture in the economic development of East Africa. Cotton, sisal and coffee exports alone represent nearly 60 per cent of total domestic exports, and it is to agriculture that Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda must look, at least in the short term, for the level of exports needed to meet the external financial requirements of their development plans. How to reduce to a minimum fluctuations in the steadily rising level of export earnings which is needed, is examined closely by Mr. Kyesimira who compares existing schemes for compensatory financing of export fluctuations. He concludes that East Africa would benefit most in measures tied to price changes for their key primary exports rather than in those tied to the value of exports.

HAWAII—THE LAST OF THE MAGIC ISLANDS, by ANDREW W. LIND; published for the *Institute of Race Relations* by *Oxford University Press,* 1969; bibliography, index; pp. 121; 15s.

Is Hawaii really an unique paragon of inter-racial virtuosity or a "sugar-coated fort" indulging in extreme oppression of the native labouring classes? Professor Lind sets out to answer these questions. Without doubt Hawaii has enjoyed a traditional pattern of good race relations with its "moves of equality" far in advance of most other countries. The impact of the Second World War, the present impact of a vast tourist trade, the military presence, the illiberal attitudes of retired erstwhile planters, all provide areas for new social conflict notwithstanding a continuing equaliterian pattern of race relations in which intermarriage has for long been extensively practised. The potential for racial strife clearly exists but there must be reasonable hope that the model islands, as they have commonly been regarded, notwithstanding the debunkers, will not readily succumb to a new era of intolerance.

INDIANS IN MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE, by SINNAPPAH ARASARATNAM; published for the *Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press;* bibliography, index; pp. 214; 25s.

Next to the Malays and Chinese, Indians constitute the third largest ethnic group both in Malaysia and Singapore. Although Indians have been a difficult community to integrate, Professor Arasaratnam believes that Indian orientation has disappeared among a vast majority of those whose forbears settled across the Bay of Bengal under the indenture system or by voluntary immigration. But for them no new national consciousness has yet come into being, and their prosperous *élite* position in trade and government service is inevitably threatened by the hastening tempo of localization – difficulties that "have to be solved within the context of nation-conscious Malaysia and Singapore . . . a challenge that Indians face and must solve in the years to come".

VUTA KAMBA: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS IN TANGANYIKA, by W. H. FRIEDLAND; *Hoover Institution Press,* 1969; notes, bibliography, map; pp. 239; Hard $7.50, Paper $2.80.

"Vuta Kamba" means literally "pull the rope": in a trade union context as in tug-of-war, "heave", or "pull together". The author provides the extraordinary translation of "hit the bricks"! His study of the Trade Union movement in Tanzania provides useful information but lacks adequate depth and seems to lack adequate basic knowledge of the Tanganyika mainland of Tanzania. Descriptive writing, as of the railway strike is good; frequently however the interpretation of events is all too naive. Omitted is any assessment of the effect on unions of office holders who were not workers in the trade concerned; nor is there any study as to why, as the divergence grew between

Tanu leaders with Trade Union associations such as Kawawa and Kamaliza on the one hand and the committed Trade Unionists such as Tumbo and Mkello, despite their oratorical success at meetings, the latter never seriously threatened the loyalty of the masses to Tanu; after independence when, in 1962, a real possibility existed of a railway strike and Tumbo accepted appointment as High Commissioner in London; this certainly frustrated Union action – but no mention is made of this by Friedland. Passing reference only is made to the 1964 army mutiny which had the direct result, in effect, of nationalizing the Trade Unions. The author casts some doubt on the alleged Union/mutineer contacts which precipitated the British Marines being called in. Certainly no one in Dar es Salaam, in any community, in February 1964, doubted that dockers' leaders and mutineers were very much in contact. The extent to which, during the post-mutiny "alarums and excursions", simple up-country union leaders were temporarily incarcerated (the Plantations Workers Sports Organiser in Rungwe for one), is of course another matter.

THE IMPACT OF SUPREME COURT DECISIONS, Edited by T. L. BECKER; *Oxford University Press*, 1969; pp. 213; 22s. net.

Theodore Becker has collated a series of essays about the consequences of Supreme Court decisions on (i) Congress and the President, (ii) the lower Courts, (iii) local and state government and politics and, (iv) public opinion. With its very special constitutional role the United States Supreme Court has, in a sense, Ombudsman-like powers over the executive of government; it has also developed, with its liberal composition, a sort of national social consciousness, often rather ahead of popular sentiment, so that while the Federal Government can on the one hand depend on the Court to back its actions on integration in Southern schools etc, it can equally fear the lack of any support if police powers or the obscenity laws are in question. Most pertinent perhaps is the question not specifically asked in this stimulating and modestly-priced volume; what is the benefit to the citizen of pursuit of justice in the abstract at the cost of extreme procrastination in the execution of justice itself?

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA 1870–1914, Edited by L. H. GANN and PETER DUIGNAN; *Cambridge University Press*, 1969, index; pp. 509; £5.

The authors of "Burden of Empire", published in 1968, are the general editors of a new major work on Colonialism in Africa. The first volume contains fifteen studies of high quality from an international team of contributors and covering the period 1870 to 1914 – years when the "scramble" was at its height and colonial rule was then being consolidated, the era of the so-called "new Imperialism" it was then that many of the frontiers were fixed between the metropolitan powers which have since governed arbitrarily the boundaries of new African independent states.

The last Chapter written by Professor Ajayi is appropriately entitled "Colonialism: an episode in African history". An understanding of its impact is essential to an understanding of present day Africa, but historically, South of the Sahara and North of the Zambesi the rule and major role of Western Empires has been short lived. How the British, the French, the Belgians, the Germans and the Portuguese established themselves, the mixtures of good and evil that they brought, the commerce and techniques, the gospel and the schools, successes and failures that were encountered (including an admirable essay on the Ethiopian victory over the Italians) are recounted here in scholarly and very readable form.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PARE OF TANZANIA, by ISARIA N. KIMAMBO; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*; maps, appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 253; 20s. (EA).

NGANO, Ed. B. G. MCINTOSH; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*; Index; pp. 181; Shs. 12.50 (EA).

That the author has been able to produce a history of the Pare from 1500 to 1900 indicates in itself the depth of the research undertaken particularly into oral history. Besides a useful bibliography, Dr. Kimambo lists a large number of little known (and in the case of oral evidence, original) references which will prove of much value to

future students of the history of North Eastern Tanzania. He pays tribute to the Pare leaders and informants who helped him – generously as one would expect of such a likeable people.

Eight historical studies contributed by former undergraduates of the department of history at University College Nairobi, have been collated by Dr. McIntosh, ranging from Ethiopia and Uganda to Kenya. They are of wide interest and the editor hopes that the volume may help to gain support for the development of an Oral Traditions Centre for Kenya.

Both these volumes make useful additions to the new and growing historiography of East Africa.

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF CHINA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA, Ed. JEROME CH'EN and NICHOLAS TARLING; *Cambridge University Press;* Index; pp. 424; 90s.

TRADE AND EMPIRE IN WESTERN INDIA, 1784-1806, by PAMELA NIGHTINGALE; *Cambridge University Press;* bibliography and index; pp. 264; 70s.

To the specialist and to the general reader alike the collection of essays published in memory of Victor Purcell, is to be warmly commended. Seven contributors provide Chinese studies as varied as the Optick artists of Chiangsu to The origin of the Boxers and the revolutionary slogans of 1964, eight writing on South East Asia (mainly Malaysia/Indonesia oriented) offer equally catholic variety from the Seventeenth Century tin trade of Malaya to Kenneth Robinson's contemporary study of Revolution in Education. Here is a volume well-suited to the collector's bookshelf.

Dr. Nightingale's research into twenty years of Imperial history, shows that the territorial expansion of the Bombay Presidency stemmed from local restrictions and the commercial interests of private British traders rather than from the authorities in London and Bengal. This study is of particular interest as it covers the first years of Pitt's India Act which brought some degree of public control over the East India Company with its diverse interests and power groups.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION, by CHRISTINE BOLT; *published for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press,* 1969; bibliography, index; pp. 197; 35s.

Dr. Bolt provides an interesting and penetrating study of co-operation between British and American members of the anti-slavery movement, to whom the American Civil War gave a new, if short lived, impetus through the medium of freedmen's aid societies. Once the war was over the freedmen's problems soon became the private domestic issue of American politics. Political equality did not bring social equality and "race prejudice – aroused by events in India, New Zealand, South Africa and Jamaica", (the effect of the Morant Bay rebellion is particularly stressed) "and confirmed by the American experience during reconstruction – triumphed in Britain". Sir Charles Dilke's liberal voice was not a lone one, but there was not, perhaps, a sufficiently compelling cause to attract public opinion strongly enough to lay what could have been better foundations for the multi-racial society of the future.

THE CAMBRIDGE ENGLISH COURSE FOR AFRICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, *Stage One: books-1-7,* by ROLAND HINDMARSH; *Cambridge University Press,* 1969; 3s. each, and Teachers' Handbook, 8s.

The author of "Understand and Write" has now designed a new course for the teaching of English in African secondary schools, based on considerable teaching experience in Africa followed by work at Cambridge on English as a second language.